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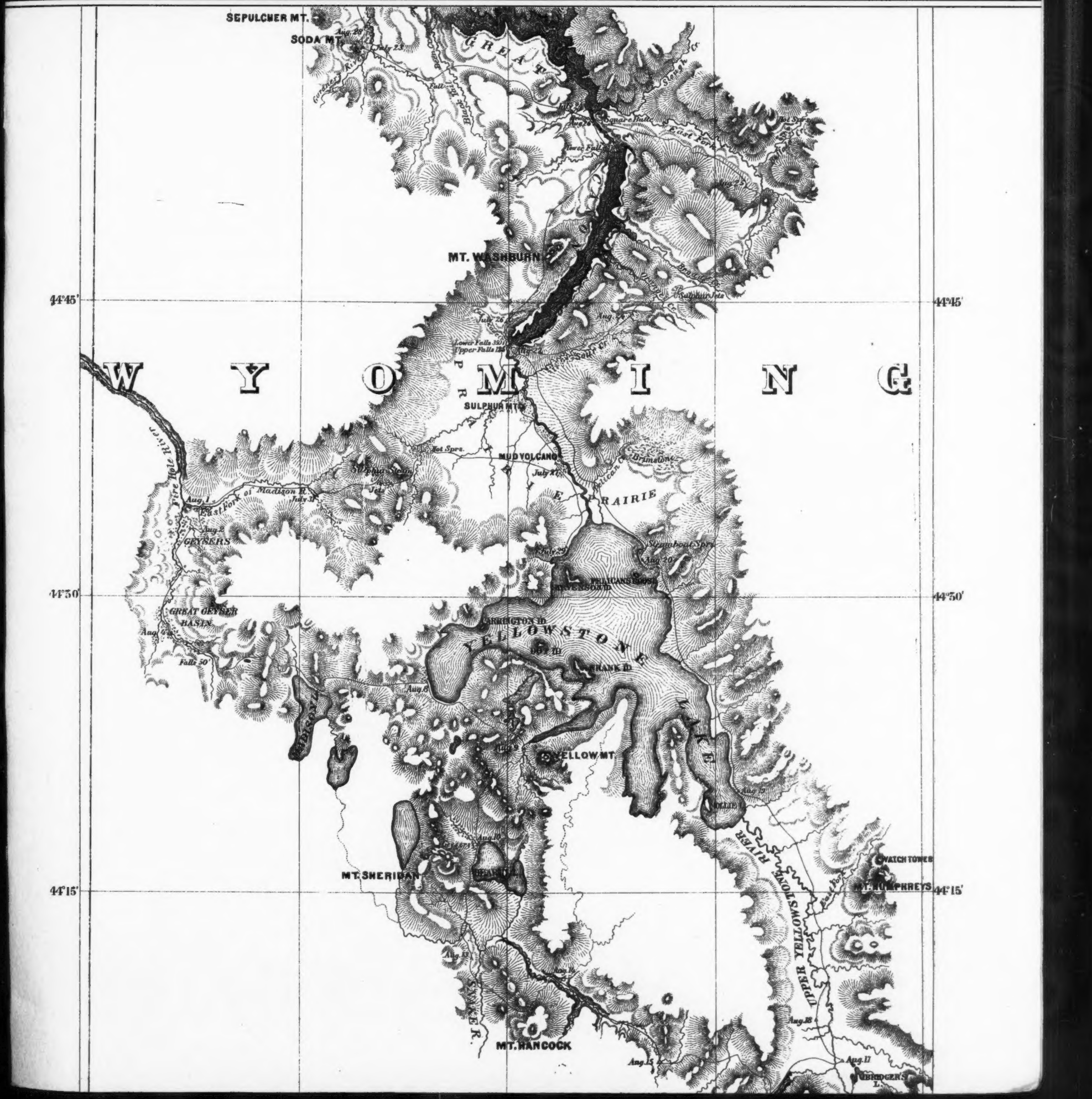

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June 15, 1967 VOL. I, NO. 2

Heroes and Horse-Soldiers by Russell F. Weigley 11

Prize Reflections by Roger Olmsted 12

Theseus in Leather Leggins by W. H. Hutchinson 13

Commentary by Wallace Stegner 14

Letters and Notes 14

The Frontier Heritage: Ambiguous Legacy by John P. Diggins 15

Sugar Pine and Steam Railroads by R. S. Polkinghorn 16

A Western Gathering 18

Looking Westward by Joseph E. Illick 24

The Ethical Trap 31

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COVER STORY

THE SURVEYOR'S WEST

On June 26, 1871, General Phil Sheridan ordered Captain J. W. Barlow, Chief Engineer of the Military Division of the Dakotas, "to proceed to the head-waters of the Yellowstone River" and map the convoluted wonderland that would soon become Yellowstone National Park. Barlow's four-man expedition—comprised of himself, one other engineer, a topographer, and a photographer—was overshadowed by the massive civilian exploration of the area then being undertaken by Ferdinand V. Hayden under the aegis of the Department of the Interior, but was nonetheless significant. Barlow's map, which is reproduced on our cover, was not only the most

(Continued on back cover)

CURRENT WESTERN BOOKS

† *Reviewed in this issue*
‡ *Received up to May 7*
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Page

Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Including Astronomical and Meteorological Records under Command of Major Stephen H. Long *(University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1966. 2 vols., ea. $6.00). Facsimile reproduction from the original, published in 1823.*
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edited by MORGAN B. SHERWOOD ‡

Ambrose Bierce: A Biography *(Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1967. 333 pp., biblio., notes, index, $6.95).*
by RICHARD O'CONNOR ‡

American Trails Library *(McGraw-Hill, N.Y.).* *7

America's Concentration Camps *(W. W. Norton & Co., N.Y., 1967. 283 pp., illus., chron., biblio., notes, index, $5.95).*
by ALLAN R. BOSWORTH †28

America's Frontier Heritage *(Holt, Rinehart and Winston, N.Y., 1966. 302 pp., foreword, preface, notes, biblio., $7.95).*
by RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON †15

America's Western Frontiers *(Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y., 1967. 440 pp., illus., notes, biblio., index, $10.00).*
by JOHN A. HAWGOOD †12

The Arapaho Way. A Memoir of an Indian Boyhood *(Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., N.Y., 1966. 80 pp., illus., $5.95).*
by ALTHEA BASS †25

Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863 *(Yale University, New Haven, $2.95).*
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Art of the Northwest Coast Indians *(University of California, Berkeley, 1967. 243 pp., illus., biblio., $5.95).*
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Aspects of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the 1965 North American Fur Trade Conference *(Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1967. 76 pp., intro., illus., index, $3.75).*
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Dakota Territory, 1861-1889 *(Yale University, New Haven. $1.95).*
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Disinherited: Story of the Removal Act of 1830 *(Avon N.Y., 1967. Pap., $.95).*
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Empire on the Platte: Historical Account of the American Great Plains from the Civil War to the 1880's *(World Publishing Co., Cleveland, 1967. 373 pp., illus., biblio., index, $7.50).*
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How They Dug the Gold *(Arizona Pioneer's Historical Society, Tucson, 1967. 163 pp., biblio., index, $5.00).*
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Kern River Valley: Centennial Vignettes *(La Siesta Press, Glendale, Calif., 1966. 70 pp., illus., maps, pap., $1.95).*
by ARDIS MANLY WALKER ‡

The Ladder of Rivers: The Story of I.P. (Print) Olive *(Sage Books, Denver, 1965. Revised eddition. 426 pp., notes, index, $6.00).*
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La Salle *(Longmans Canada, Ltd., Ontario, 1967. 266 pp., notes, index, $9.50).*
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Life on the Plains and among the Diggings: Being Scenes and Adventures of an Overland Journey to California *(University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1966. 384 pp., illus., $6.00). A facsimile reproduction of the original, published in 1854.*
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Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer *(Atheneum, N.Y., 1967. Originally published by Harvard University, 1962. 212 pp., notes, index, $2.45).*
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The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West, Vol. IV *(Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, Calif., 1966. 397 pp., notes, illus.).*
edited by LEROY R. HAFEN ‡

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Navaho Witchcraft *(Beacon Press, Boston [c. 1944], 1967. 245 pp., biblio., notes, app., pap., $1.95).*
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The Oregon Question: Essays in Anglo-American Diplomacy & Politics *(Belknap Press of Harvard University, Cambridge, 1967. 427 pp., notes, index, $7.95).*
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The Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner, with Stephen Watts Kearny to New Mexico and California, 1846. *(University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1966. 173 pp, intro., index, $5.00).*
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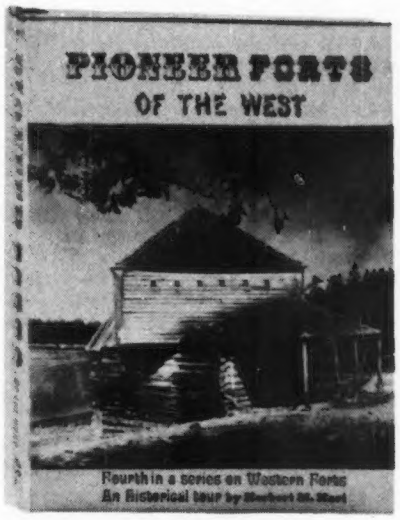

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The Peyote Religion among the Navajo *(Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1966. 454 pp., illus., notes, app., biblio., index, $10.00).*
by DAVID F. ABERLE †25

Pino Grande: Logging Railroads of the Michigan-California Lumber Company *(Howell-North, Berkeley, 1966. 144 pp., illus., foldout map, app., index, $7.50).*
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1. The planters B B, in combination with the beast A, constructed and operated as described.
2. The bands *i i*, and pulley *c c*, in combination with hind legs of a cheap-horse A, to operate the planters and prevent kicking, substantially as set forth.
3. I claim the cheap-horse A, clipped, as shown, in combination with a corpulent driver D, to prevent his traveling too fast, as described.
4. I claim the guide *a*, in combination with the "tail of a cheap-horse," when said tail is put on in a vertical position, as shown and described.
5. In a cheap-horse corn-planter I claim the tail *b*, when arranged vertically, to frighten the crows, *a a*, as set forth.
6. I claim the worms (not shown) in combination with the "early birds" *a a*, for the purpose set forth.

The yellow dog, with few friends, being an old device and somewhat at a discount in these days, we do not *set anything on him*, but merely throw him in to accompany the driver D, to give general effect to the patent after it is granted.

The above is dedicated to despairing inventors. It goes to prove that the field of invention has not yet been exhausted. We have not had the pleasure of reading the specification of the inventor, but we can easily conceive of the beautiful pen pictures which its writer might indulge in. The cheap horse made useful, the neat mechanism and its splendid adaptability to the construction of the horse. The advantage of "arranging" the tail "vertically." The benefit of the exercise upon the "corpulent driver," and to end the whole, a dissertation upon the "worms" and the "early birds," not to say anything of the "yellow dog." These points of advantage ought to satisfy the mechanical appetite of even a cheap Patent Agent; but jesting aside, the above comical representation is but little inferior to many inventions which have been made the subjects of letters patent, as a glance through the Patent Reports will show. If any inventors are able to improve upon the above invention we will be most happy to send them one of our Patent Circulars with full instructions "How to apply for a patent."—*Mining and Scientific Press, S. F.*

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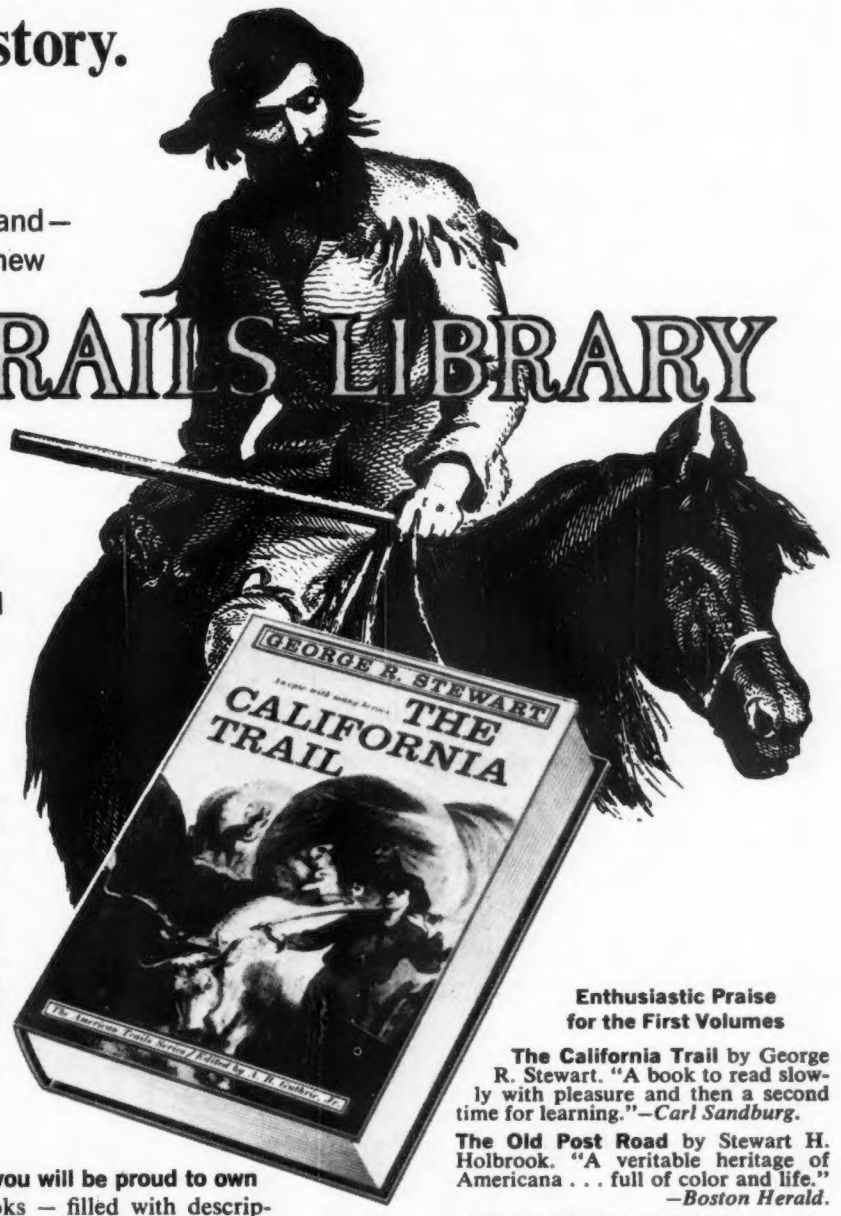

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HEROES AND HORSE-SOLDIERS

By Russell F. Weigley

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes remarked, "There is in all men a demand for the superlative. It is not enough for the knight of romance that you agree that his lady is a very nice girl—if you do not admit that she is the best that God ever made or will make, you must fight." This same demand for the superlative seems to condition our taste for figures of the past. However such sophistication may oblige us to profess recognition of the complexities of human nature, in fact we prefer to label our predecessors as heroes or villains.

So it has been, for example, with Grenville Dodge. Albeit we usually know enough about him to feel uneasy, the demand for the superlative, or at least for simplicity, usually requires us to call him a hero. Henry Steele Commager in *The American Mind* compares "the constructive work of building the transcontinentals with the destructive work of exploiting them—comparing, let us say, the contribution of Gen. Grenville Dodge and Jay Gould." Thomas Beer in *The Mauve Decade* contrasts "a Grenville Dodge, sweating in the deserts, and a Collis Huntington, contemplating the results in an office."

Stanley P. Hirshson, in his recent biography of Dodge, reminds us of those and similar assessments, but a principal virtue of this new study is that it goes beyond them to make Dodge a human being. Hirshson not only portrays Dodge warts and all, but he shows that the warts were uncommonly large ones, for Dodge was enough of a rascal that Jay Gould seems an appropriate colleague. Nevertheless, Dodge was also an able commander of the XVI Army Corps and the Military Department of Missouri, and his contributions to the conquest of the West were such that "Dodge City, Laramie, Cheyenne, the Rock Island, the Union Pacific, the Texas & Pacific, and the Fort Worth and Denver City were—and always would be—his most fitting monuments."

Dodge believed that the ingredients of success were "brains, push, and combinations." He almost never bestirred himself unless there was profit in it. He began his career as a speculator and influence peddler in frontier Iowa, and he had an early brush with a major scandal involving some purchases of votes to establish the state capitol on the east rather than the west side of Des Moines, in desirable proximity to certain real estate investments. When the Civil War began he not only offered his services to the army but plunged into lucrative contracting activities. He continued that line of business as a contractor to Indian agencies after the war, selling corn at the Red Cloud Agency in Wyoming, for example, at $2.26½ a hundred pounds when corn could be bought there at $1.50. He was close enough to the Credit Mobilier scandal that he hid out in Texas to avoid a Congressional subpoena until the affair blew over—once venturing to St. Louis under an assumed name but fleeing in disarray when a process server almost caught up with him. A petty, but characteristic, increment to his fortune came from his federal pension for total disability incurred during the war, which flowed in all through his railroad-building years.

The pension represented more than another money-making scheme. It was the sort of raw material out of which Dodge manufactured his place in history as a hero, not a robber baron. He collected three war wounds—an accidentally self-inflicted bullet wound in the thigh, a contusion of the side suffered when he was knocked from his horse by a falling tree branch at Pea Ridge, and a skull fracture and severe brain concussion caused by a Minie ball at Atlanta. Only the last of these wounds was serious—but he wrote and talked a lot about the war, more and more glamorizing the circumstances of his injuries while inflating the severity of all of them, and thus helped create the image of a war hero so battle-scarred that his character and motives stood above question.

He had a genius for projecting that image. Although he was one of the most powerful members of the Regency that dominated postwar Iowa politics, he somehow gave contemporaries (and some historians) the impression that he cared little for politics and participated only with reluctance. Though he was the partner in railroad speculations of Jay Gould, Collis Huntington, and Tom Scott, he retained the image not of the financial plunger but of the builder. On the other hand, when the hit-or-miss construction methods of the Union Pacific made it undesirable to be too closely identified as the builder of that road, Dodge could still get off the hook—because as chief engineer, his main function was really that of chief surveyor.

Hirshson emphasizes that Dodge was enabled to so polish his image because many of his avowed achievements as a war hero and builder were real—though again, characteristically, one of his main talents as a general was as a manager of undercover work and spies in one of the Union army's best intelligence networks.

Dodge was a human being filled with very human inconsistencies: he grew up in New England, but his early political views were proslavery, and once he shoved a dish of stewed oysters into a

(Continued on page 29)

Grenville M. Dodge: Soldier, Politician, Railroad Pioneer by Stanley P. Hirshson (*Indiana University Press, $10.00*).

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PRIZE REFLECTIONS

by ROGER OLMSTED

America's Western Frontiers by John Hawgood (*Alfred A. Knopf, $10.00*).

In *Esquire* recently, under the title, "I mean, My God, If You Can't Produce a Great American Novel for Two Hundred Thou, Pre-Sold to the Flicks, What the Hell Hope Is There for American Literature?" a former managing editor for G. P. Putman's Sons recounted in hilarious detail that publishing firm's agonies and mishaps in its attempt to conduct the most lucrative "prize competition" in publishing history.

Of course, the competition demanded something more (or less) than disembodied literary merit, as the prize money was put up by not just the hardcover publisher, but a paperback publisher, *McCall's* magazine—and the flicks. The novel had to have positive American values.

As the term of the competition eroded away, it became apparent that leading literary agents were boycotting the affair: $210,000 was *not enough* for the sure-fire best seller. Alternatively, good novels that could not be peddled for more tended to be a bit low in positive-American-value-quotient. While manuscripts from little old ladies in Des Moines piled up in the hallways, last-ditch efforts literally to commission a winner fell just short of success. Finally, the publishers had to exercise their option of rejecting all submissions; the competition was abandoned.

The story of Putman's anticlimatic quest must certainly stand as a grotesque parody of the more usual publisher's prize competition. But its outrageous peculiarities do throw into relief the questions raised by prizes and prize books. Some of these questions are relevant to the biennial prize in western history offered by the distinguished firm of Alfred A. Knopf and the first prize-winning book, John A. Hawgood's *America's Western Frontiers*.

Apart from such considerations as, "Is Knopf's prize large enough to attract the best?" (Five thou? I mean, my God, have you bought any shoes lately?), one comes right up against the question of what the publisher's purpose is in offering the prize. Presumably, such offers bring in publishable manuscripts which are not prize-winners—together with a lot of terrible stuff which *somebody* on the payroll has to reject; presumably, the very fact that the final selection is a prizewinner is of value in promoting sales of the book. It is also to be presumed that the prize is designed to encourage distinguished work.

Does the award of Knopf's Western History Prize to *America's Western Frontiers* encourage excellence in the field? "Not particularly," I must regretfully suggest. The Western History Prize is hardly needed to encourage the production of books of this type, nor is the book itself, despite its solid virtues, worthy of any singular distinction.

America's Western Frontiers is a good survey of the successive frontiers of the trans-Mississippi West, from the Spanish explorations to the farmer's frontier (not to mention the historian's and the demographer's frontiers). Hawgood is a scholar, Professor of American History at the University of Birmingham (England), and the American West has been his love of thirty years. His book is not a scholarly study, but is intended for the general reader, and it is written with style and wit. It is worth all of $7.95.

What is wrong with Hawgood's book is apt to be described by the specialist in western history as a failure to offer any "new" information. In one sense, such criticism is absurd, as condemnation on this ground would tend to relegate *any* sweeping survey to the trash bin. There is an obvious need for high quality works of this type, books on topics sufficiently large and so extensively picked over that the historian must necessarily produce something which at least *looks* as though it could have been made up entirely from more or less standard sources available in any large library.

At the same time, and in a different sense, the survey of such a major subject as the western frontier *does* require that the author say something "new." The new contribution of the historian in such cases should be a coherent point of view, a logical system that establishes grounds for selection of specific information from the overwhelming mass of material available and illuminates the relationships between the otherwise discrete parcels of history. Whether or not one believes that straightforward reporting is appropriate to the writing of history, it is obvious that a technique that many might find virtuous in a monograph is less justifiable in a sweeping synthesis.

This is not to say that Hawgood eschews opinion and personal judgment, but that his ideas and interpretations tend to be confined to observations of very limited scope. Indeed the treatment of the Indian by the government and people of the United States *was* a dirty shame, but this reflection neither serves any useful purpose in the structure of the book nor offers any firm foundation for a sketch of the Indian frontier.

Hawgood's wit and obvious enthusiasm for the history of the western frontier make his book very lively and readable—on a page-to-page basis. But lack of any animating over-all logic mars it in more than a theoretical sense. Time and again chapters begin more successfully than they end. What happens is that to the degree that individual chapters lack a sustaining logic, they tend to break down into chains of information. Thus it becomes possible, for instance, to describe the building of the western railroad system without offering any serious insight into the nature of the railroads as business institutions. The chapter on the farming frontier perhaps tells one more about the incentives to railroad-building than the chapter on transporation, but all of the information and comments together hardly come close to the heart of the matter.

Certainly a prize work should be of such superiority that it is pleasing to the especially informed reader as well as to the general reader. Few are so conversant with every aspect of the history of the West that they will not find any of Hawgood's chapters intriguing. Yet I suspect that those who have done extensive reading in some areas of western history will react as I did: they will find that chapters seem lively and interesting in direct ratio to their own ignorance of the particular area under discussion.

America's Western Frontiers does credit to its author and publisher in that it fills a need for a good and readable trade book covering the western frontier experience. As such it deserves the regard of the general reader. As a prize work, it has serious shortcomings and calls into question the utility of prizes and the meaning of excellence.

THESEUS IN LEATHER LEGGINS

BY W. H. HUTCHINSON

Bob Crosby: World Champion Cowboy by Mabel Crosby and Eve Ball (*Clarendon Press, $6.00*).

TEN YEARS PAST as this appears, I committed to print the observation that the "Bill-show" strain—Buffalo, Pawnee, Wild & Co.—in our western mystique was being sustained by "innumerable arena performances by professional *road-eeo* cowboys who could not unroll their beds in an old-time cow camp and would not want to." That observation has returned to mind, still valid, because of an unpublicized and unpretentious, yet warmly human, memoir that makes a substantial contribution to rodeo lore. Perhaps even more.

As a visible reminder of the last violent spasm in the national westering, as a spectator sport attracting millions of customers annually, the collective individual contests known as "Rodeo" have acquired the trappings of contemporary corporate success: promotional ballyhoo, television exposure, big money, and a participants' organization that falls somewhere between the A.M.A. and Jimmy Hoffa's fraternal brotherhood. This conversion of an industry's working chores into what has been dubbed "Cow Country Theater" also has attracted the bibliographical attention of Ramon Adams in *The Rampaging Herd* (1959).

Perhaps the most exotic of Adams' twenty-odd listings is *Rodeo des cow-boys* . . . (Paris 1934), which contained *"lexique d'expressions cow-boys"* for Gallic enlightenment. Perhaps the best among Adams' listings are Max Kegley's magnificently illustrated *Rodeo, Sport of the Cow Country* (1942) and Clifford Westermeier's *Man, Beast, Dust: The Story of Rodeo* (1947). More current than anything in Adams is Mary Robertson's *Rodeo* (1965), which had its origin in a maternal desire to know more about the trade being plied by a bull-rider who was pursuing one of her daughters. It is a perceptive expository guide for *aficionado* and layman alike.

Despite these literary attentions, the flesh-and-blood of rodeo history remains to be mined from the rich lode of anecdotal characterization about the giants of its beginnings: Hugh Strickland, Clay McGonigal, Paddy Ryan, Breezy and Otho Cox, John and Everett Bowman, Clay Carr, Yakima Canutt, and their peers. These were the men who turned the tasks of livelihood into a professional sport, a sport unique in that its contestants pay for the privilege of participation. These were men with the bark on, men rougher than a frozen cob, men with a you-be-damned integrity peculiarly their own. Ribald, bawdy, coarse-grained, and lusty, they campaigned as their modern counterparts still do, with all the ferocity of Free Companions in The Hundred Years War. Of them all, none was greater than the protagonist of *Bob Crosby: World Champion Cowboy*.

A product of that wind-washed, sun-warped, gyp-water land between the Pecos and the Panhandle, Crosby possessed incredible strength in his arms, hands, and shoulders, and his physical hardihood was legendary among men to whom such was commonplace. He was labelled clearly "Use No Hooks," and he would fight at the drop of a hat—preferably his own, dropped by his own hand. Yet he was not vicious when he fought, nor did he cherish smoldering animosities. In his abstinence from tobacco and alcohol, he was a rarity. Competition was the only stimulus he needed, and his consistent coolness made him more than formidable in the matched ropings, twenty-steer or -calf average, that are rarities today. For a quarter-century after World War I, Crosby was a familiar figure in the arenas at Calgary, Pendleton, Cheyenne, and Madison Square Garden. He participated in Tex Austin's forays into England, and he competed in innumerable "punkin rollin'" contests in places so obscure that the mohair-and-milk trains of the Texas & Pacific did not honor them with a whistle *en passant*. Ironically enough, he was killed when he misjudged the mobility of the Jeep he used on his Cross B Ranch out of Roswell, New Mexico.

Crosby's story makes the first full-scale narrative about a human rodeo

(Continued on page 23)

From *Charles M. Russell: Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture in the Amon G. Carter Collection* by Frederic G. Renner (University of Texas Press).

COMMENTARY

By Wallace Stegner

Western writers, even more than other American writers, often chafe under the sense of having no adequate natural audience. Though it is probably true that any writer of consequence has to make his larger reputation among strangers and distant relatives, there is a particular pleasure in evoking the delighted recognition that only a tribal insider can feel. Literature speaks to temperament, Conrad said; and temperament is considerably conditioned by the culture within which it is formed. There are visceral kinds of communication inside the tribe, unspoken sharings of experience and perception.

But too often, those who should most respond to what a western writer has to say are not readers at all; or they are readers so used to looking through the haze of myth that obscures the West that they are indifferent or hostile to the history and fiction of reality.

That is why, as a writer, I applaud the regional or local groups which in one way or other try to assert the solidarity of western writers and western readers. The gold and silver medals annually awarded by the Commonwealth Club of California for the best books of several kinds written by Californians are recognitions to be cheered and cherished. So are the prizes that have been made annually since 1939 by the Texas Institute of Letters.

The prizes go to Texas writers who have produced, in the opinion of the judges, the best book of fiction, the best book of non-fiction, the book making the most significant contribution to knowledge, the best piece of periodical prose, the best book for children, the best book of poetry. There is an additional award to the publisher who makes the best-designed book. The prizes are provided by a variety of donors, both individuals and groups. Some of them are very substantial, as much as a thousand dollars, and all of them, even the lesser ones, are coveted. Altogether they express a sort of family pride, tempered by a consistent critical judgment—a continuing evidence of support from the folks back home—which, as a maverick who never *had* a cultural home or a tribal history, I profoundly envy.

The natural tendency of prizes of this kind is to become more locally-patriotic than critical, and yet a glance at the list of winners over the past twenty-eight years indicates that the tendency has been happily resisted. Such writers as J. Frank Dobie, Walter Prescott Webb, Katherine Anne Porter, Tom Lea, Paul Horgan, and William Humphrey are authentically southwestern, but their names have been heard wherever English is spoken. The winners for 1966, announced at a banquet in the old Driskill Hotel in Austin on March 18, 1967, live up to the tradition of excellence set over the years.

Some of the categories, particularly periodical prose and children's books, I do not feel competent to judge, and I regrettably do not know the work of R. G. Bleat, who won the poetry prize with a volume called *Events and Celebrations*. But the best non-fiction book, *This Stubborn Soil*, an autobiography by William Owens, is a document of an admirable solidity and honesty. The two novels which split the fiction award, Larry McMurtry's *The Last Picture Show* and Tom Pendleton's *The Iron Orchard*, are worth anyone's time, in or out of Texas—the McMurtry a savage exposure of small-town spiritual sterility, the Pendleton probably the best thing ever written about the oilfields. And the book judged to have made the most significant contribution to knowledge, William Goetzmann's *Exploration and Empire*, is a sweeping and astonishingly complete study of all the major explorations into the West. Within six weeks of the time it received its prize in Austin, judges in New York corroborated the judgment of those in Texas by giving Goetzmann's book the Pulitzer Prize for 1967.

Applause from home, the assurance of the validity and importance of what they do—these are important to western writers as to others, and they have had too little of them. Important, too, is the other step taken by the Texas Institute of Letters at its Austin meeting, when it announced an annual fellowship for a working writer, giving him the privilege of living and working at Frank Dobie's old ranch.

That too should be encouraging to anyone lucky enough to win it. There ought to be a lot of Frank Dobie's easy warmth lingering around the ranch house, and a good deal of inspiration to do well, and a good deal of assurance that what one does to put his region honestly and faithfully into print is worth the doing.

LETTERS AND NOTES

Let There Be Light-Towers

Sir:

Two comments on Mr. T. H. Watkins' article "A 200-Foot Tower Is Scarcely Adequate" in the Fall, 1966 issue of *The American West*.

The article implies that the light towers were rather exotic fancies and did not prove practical with the coming of incandescent lights. Austin, Texas, originally used arc lamps on its towers, converted to incandescent, still later converted to mercury vapor, and now uses color corrected mercury vapor lamps on the 27 light towers still in use. The towers rather effectively provide wide area lighting over older portions of the city, though admittedly it is not as bright as current street lighting practices require and the area lighting is therefore supplemented on principal streets.

Interestingly, Texas A. & M. University is currently conducting research which may result in the use of high intensity lamps on towers to light highway interchanges, as indications seem to show that area lighting might be more satisfactory and economical than the forests of street light poles now required to produce satisfactory illumination of interchanges.

W. R. Stebbins, Jr.
Austin

An Astonishing Photograph

Sir:

I was extremely interested in the article starting on page 20 in the March 15th issue of *The American West Review*, entitled "Descent Into the Savage: 1867." Being in the deep mining business myself in this district, I was just astounded at the larger photograph on the top of page 21. Unless one is familiar with underground

THE FRONTIER HERITAGE: AMBIGUOUS LEGACY

America's Frontier Heritage by Ray Allen Billington (*Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $5.95*).

By John P. Diggins

Professor Billington might be described as a Turnerian revisionist. He recently acknowledges his debt to the great historian of the frontier thesis, and his book, Volume Eight in the *Histories of the American Frontier* series, is an attempt "to reappraise the entire hypothesis in the light of modern research in both history and the social sciences." With a lucid and engaging prose, Billington has written a book unusual in western history for its use of behavioral concepts and its sustained analytical richness.

Billington begins with a concise survey of the responses, both high- and low-brow, to the Turner thesis, and the uses, both proud (e.g., individualism) and profane (e.g., imperialism), to which his ideas were put. All the familiar historiographical disputes are here (the safety valve, the frontier as "cradle of barbarism or civilization," etc.), as Billington deftly summarizes the essence of the anti-Turner critique. For the most part, he feels that Turner's critics, having exaggerated or distorted the frontier thesis, have been snatching at straws. For example, did the frontier really foster democracy? Examining state-making experiences in various western regions, Billington finds that here the more democratic features of eastern constitutions were emulated, and thus the "West was not a breeding ground but a spawning ground for democratic theory and practice." As to the "social aspects" of frontier life, the author falls back on the traditional traits of "individualism" and "equality" so frequently commented upon by contemporary European travelers. Comparatively, westerners practiced a certain degree of self-reliance; yet they hardly engaged in the pristine individualism that constitutes the folk catechism of today's American Right. Billington makes it clear that livelihood itself necessitated cooperative enterprise, that closely-knit town life allowed little personal privacy, and that even law enforcement required community effort. Thus, while the frontier did exercise a leveling force on class distinctions and elitism, the westerner was anything but a Sumnerian "Forgotten Man," and in economic matters his views resembled the schizoid mentality of eastern industrialists who mouthed "rugged individualism" while consuming government subsidies. In a chapter on the economic implications of the frontier, Billington shows, drawing upon the insights of David Potter and others, that the West nurtured boundless ambition, an aversion to leisure, materialism, wastefulness, innovation, and a persistent "migratory compulsion."

Although he focuses on the impact of the frontier, Billington judiciously announces the limitations of a materialistic interpretation of history. In terms of historical change, he concedes, the secondary social environment is as important as the primary physical environment. Yet after acknowledging such cultural factors—as well as those of heredity—Billington spends the remainder of his book discussing the overriding importance of the frontier in shaping American institutions and the American character. The exercise might be viewed as the occupational hazard of a scholar who has spent the greater part of his illustrious career mining the veins of western history. But if one believes, as this reviewer does, that America has been shaped just as much by her distinct value system, which sprang less from the environment than from religion (cf. Seymour Martin Lipset, *The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective*, 1963) and from certain almost metaphysical political premises (cf. Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America*, 1955), then perhaps one has the right to submit a humble caveat. Billington rightly speculates as to how much different America would be had there been no expansive area of available land; surely it is just as valid to speculate as to how different America would be had there been no Protestant ethical foundation or consensus of Lockean liberalism.

In a book as broad and bold as Billington's, a few vulnerable generalizations are bound to emerge. Hence, in attempting to reconcile the alleged contradiction between American idealism and materialism, Billington feels he has found the key to the riddle in the fact that Americans have pursued wealth merely as a "status symbol," and that for them "money was not an end in itself but an escalator to a better life, a better social order, and the satisfactions of self-realization. The pursuit of the Almighty Dollar was idealistic no less than it was materialistic." Such semantical confusions can only result in mishmash. Similarly, Billington draws heavily on social science insights in order to explain such matters as stratification, class consciousness (or lack thereof), motivation, personality development, and the like. On the whole, he has learnedly used these analytical tools. But when Billington maintains that the frontiersman suffered from *anomie* because of his sense of social isolation and absence of standards, the reader must balk. In the first place, anomie, as originally conceived by Durkheim and amplified by Merton, was a malaise characteristic of highly complex societies of industrial capitalism. Urban normlessness is not the same thing as frontier lawlessness—indeed, frontier violence itself could be regarded as predictive normative behavior. Moreover, scholars today, despite depth-analysis of the most sophisticated controlled experiments, have yet to isolate

(Continued on page 23)

conditions, he cannot possibly realize how realistic this cut is. . . . I have an unusual interest in anything to do with the Comstock Lode as my father was born near Virginia City in 1865.

Henry L. Day
Wallace, Idaho

Picture Identification

Sir:

In the February issue of *The American West*, the Promontory Point photograph on page 20 shows Governor A. P. K. Safford, of Arizona, the third man to the left (as one looks at the picture) of Mrs. Strowbridge (7) and immediately to the left of the blurred figure. A small, sad-looking man with a dark beard, he is easily recognizable.

Mrs. Samuel Altshuler
Tucson

When the El Dorado Lumber Company bought a perky new Shay locomotive, it was the occasion to break out the photographer and set up a portrait. And it was an event significant enough to call for the presence of President E. N. Harmon (left), with his wife and daughter in their Sunday best.

SUGAR PINE AND STEAM RAILROADS

By R. S. Polkinghorn

Editor's Note: Every year quite a few books are published which are unusually attractive yet so highly specialized that they might at first glance appear quite outside the interests of the general reader. R. S. Polkinghorn's recent Pino Grande: Logging Railroads of the Michigan-California Lumber Company *(Howell-North Books, Berkeley, 1966, $7.50) is perhaps directed primarily to the "railroad buff"—but it is so thorough (and so well-illustrated) that it is something more than a standard railfan piece. We liked it so much that we asked the author to write a little sketch of the sugar pine logging industry as seen in the Pino Grande operation.*

When the gold fever of 1849 died down a bit, California's restless immigrants turned to the forests with their enterprising energy. In the Sierra sugar pine region logging attempts began in the 1860's, but they were not generally successful until the turn of the century. During those forty years, the Sierras were dotted with small saw mills cutting timber for local mining and building. Sugar pine is a soft, close-grained wood, easily worked, suitable for manufacture into door frames and window jambs and into patterns for foundry casting. It is both valuable and relatively scarce. Once a way was found to get it out of the mountains, it became too expensive to use in the local mines.

The first logging techniques tried in the Sierras were those used successfully "back East." Typical was the effort of H. P. Livermore, a recent immigrant from New England, and founder of what is now the Michigan-California Lumber Company. He planned to drive logs down the South Fork of the American River to a mill at Folsom in the foothills. Starting in 1866, he built a dam at Folsom to catch the logs. Forty miles upstream, he built a long chute down the side of the canyon to get the logs into the river, and a narrow-gauge railroad to haul them to the head of the chute. When his heirs finally abandoned the project in 1898, after great expenditure of effort and money, they had only the river to blame for the failure. The high waters of spring did not last long enough to carry the logs as far as the mill.

With a few notable exceptions, successful logging in the Sierras was railroad logging. It started in the 1870's, along the main line of the Southern Pacific Railroad. The pace quickened during the 1890's, and the flood tide of railroad logging began around 1900. It was to last until the 1930's and to involve more than one hundred railroads in the Sierra mountains.

Among the many new firms of 1900 was El Dorado Lumber Company which took up where H. P. Livermore had stopped. Railroad logging was, of course, expensive. Including all the small spurs in the woods, eighty to a hundred miles of track, with its attendant grading, filling and myriad trestles had to be built and maintained. Nineteen narrow-gauge and two standard-gauge locomotives were used. It cost two to three times as much to fell a sugar pine, mill it, and haul it to Sacramento as it did to bring douglas fir lumber from the Oregon shores of the Columbia River into Sacramento. But then, sugar pine could command two to three times the price of fir. It could pay for the railroads.

In most ways, the logging technique of El Dorado Lumber Company and its successors was typical of Sierra sugar pine companies. It had, however, one unique device that made it famous—the cable. At the elevations where sugar pine grow best, the American River is a deep, steep-sided gorge. A standard-gauge branch of the Southern Pacific Railroad had, by 1888, made its way up the south side of the gorge. The best trees stood silently a few hundred feet higher, and only a few miles away, on the other side, on the Georgetown Divide. A railroad down into the gorge and up the other side would have been short, but very expensive to operate. A railroad down the Georgetown Divide itself, to connect with the Southern Pacific in the valley, would have been long and expensive to build. The simple solution was a carriage that carried loaded railroad cars on two 1½-inch cables,

A loaded narrow gauge car rides the cable across the chasm of the American River.

straight across the gorge. It cost relatively little to build and served with only one major rebuilding for forty-nine years.

The ride across was exciting. Who could be "cool" 1200 feet up in a swaying cage without railings or any other passenger-safety equipment? The trip took no more than two minutes, but it began with the carriage rolling rapidly down the sag of the cables as if to plunge into the river below. Passengers held desperately to any available brace, and some, in terror, hugged the floor boards for what seemed an eternity, until they felt the solid jolt as the carriage stopped in the unloading tower on the other side.

In the early 1930's, trucks began to be important in Sierra logging. Soon it was cheaper to build a dusty logging road into uncut timber than to extend the railroad. A new technology gradually took over. Railroads stopped growing and then began to shrink. Ten years after World War II few railroad operations remained, and twenty years later there was no more railroad logging in the Sierra Nevada.

R. S. Polkinghorn is a professor of economics at Sacramento State College.

ORRIN PORTER ROCKWELL: Man of God, Son of Thunder
is the biography of the man who is probably the most mysterious and controversial figure in Mormon history. He was accused of murdering more than a hundred persons for the Mormon Church. His name is enmeshed in myth and legend. Was Rockwell the stalwart pioneer and western frontiersman of Mormon record or the malign, sinister figure of anti-Mormon legend? Now you can decide for yourself. Harold Schindler has written the definitive story. *The Saturday Review* says "This counterpoint between text and footnote, perhaps necessary when sources conflict so sharply, demonstrates the thoroughness of Schindler's research." 400 pages, illustrated, index, bibliography, $7.50.

ON THE MORMON FRONTIER: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861.
Of the Mormon diaries available to scholars, perhaps there is none which so adequately describes the life and times of the writer and his people over such an extended period as does the diary of Hosea Stout. Hosea Stout held positions of responsibility in church, civic and governmental organizations and was able to observe and record events of great moment. In the words of Dale L. Morgan of the Bancroft Library "... one of the most magnificent windows upon Mormon history ever opened ... [the publication of which] will place before the world an enduring contribution to American history ..." Edited by Juanita Brooks, 740 pages, index, 2 volumes, $17.50.

HOLE-IN-THE-ROCK: An Epic in the Colonization of the Great American West
is a chronicle of the indomitable pioneer spirit that brought American civilization and culture into the Far West. In all the annals of the West, replete with examples of courage, tenacity and ingenuity, there is no better example of this indomitable pioneer spirit than that of the Hole-in-the-Rock expedition of the San Juan Mission of the Mormon church. David. E. Miller, Head of the History Department, University of Utah, tells the story. 230 pages, illustrations, maps, appendices, index, bibliography, second edition, $5.50.

JOE HILL: The Man and the Myth,
by Gibbs M. Smith,
is the most thoroughly researched work on the subject to date. Joe Hill has become more important with time because of the Supreme Court's stress on individual rights for those who are criminally indicted and because of the tendency of nations to examine their folklore more closely as they grow older. To Be Published September 15, 1967.

U OF U PRESS
University of Utah Press
Salt Lake City, Utah 84112

A WESTERN GATHERING

Full bibliographic information (number of pages, where published, etc.) for all books reviewed can be obtained from the listing under Current Western Books, page 3.

A Gallery of Dudes by Marshall Sprague (*Little, Brown, $8.75*).

BY HELENA HUNTINGTON SMITH

THE AUTHOR and publisher between them have turned out a fascinating book on the irresistible and inexhaustible subject, the sporting or entrepreneurial "dudes" from civilized portions of the globe who virtually overran the West in the nineteenth century. Though the word "dude" in this specialized sense has long been part of the western vocabulary, it remained for Mitchell Wilder of the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth to restore the word to the mainstream of semantics and history. This book is the outgrowth of the "dudes" exhibition that he mounted last year.

Mr. Sprague's dudes include a Scottish baronet, two English milords, a globe-trotting British female, a Russian grand duke, a German scientist-prince, a French marquis, a future American president, and a couple of artists who were taken along for the ride, so to speak. The wealth of illustration makes the book a particular joy. Missing are the veddy, veddy English cattle barons who stirred up the dust in the Eighties from Texas to Alberta, but you can't have everything, and the list of possible subjects could go on forever. (Why doesn't someone, some day, take a look at Rudyard Kipling in the role of a dude?)

In Mr. Sprague's gallery, my favorites are those paired antitheses who made spectacular, if short-lived, careers of ranching in North Dakota and who were neighbors if not exactly friends: the Marquis de Mores and Theodore Roosevelt. Both were naturals in this context, but for opposite reasons. The fiery Frenchman was a supreme example of how to have a bad time in the West—or anywhere else for that matter. In contrast, the future Rough Rider and President was the classic case of the Dude Who Made Good.

Everyone must have heard of the spectacular marquis, his beautiful heiress wife, and his wild money-making schemes; of the 'abbatoir" (a euphemism that leaves a slaughterhouse smelling just the same); of the refrigerator car company, the elaborate hunting trips, and the staff of twenty servants in the "chateau" overlooking the Little Missouri. But Mr. Sprague, with calm detachment and sweet charity, lays bare the catastrophic want of judgment that undermined De Mores' Medora structure and a few years later cost him his life. Take that little shooting affray that landed the fastidious Marquis for several months in a very dirty Dakota jail. The nobleman "happened"—says the author, bending backward a trifle—to string a drift fence across a hunting trail that had long crossed "his" property (which, of course, was public domain). Now everybody knows that in the West, when you "happened" to fence off an accustomed right of way, you were bidding for fast trouble, and you generally got it. A couple of local yokels promptly cut the fence, the Marquis and supporters lay in wait, and a youth was killed.

But that is only one tale. Also unearthed by Mr. Sprague's research—and news to me—is the wondrous affair of the Marquis and his Pinkerton man. Too long for telling here, it has a hilarity that is so solemn and awful that you can't laugh, you can only bend double and ache because it steers so close to the ultimate tragedy of De Mores' character.

Roosevelt's resounding success, his humor and adaptability on the Dakota scene that wrecked the Marquis, can stand a lot of telling. But this is one chapter in the *Gallery* which leaves me less than happy, because it lays undue stress on the point that the puny TR went west in search of health—a cliche only half true at that. Much more significant, though not mentioned, was the way his innate authority came to light in these rough surroundings—how he quickly became a power in both the Montana and Little Missouri stockmen's associations (having organized the latter) and was elected captain of the Little Missouri roundup in 1885. Not bad for a four-eyed dude.

Apart from what strikes me as romancing in the Roosevelt chapter, Mr. Sprague is a very good writer indeed. He has a light, perceptive touch, and is given to such flashes of insight as the following passage regarding Sir William

Drummond Stewart:

> . . . he always had males in tow, and yet, paradoxically, this preference for men derived from the fact that he liked women very much indeed—Anglo, Indian, Creole or whatever. He avoided them, socially at least, because the alluring Christina had taught him early in life what would happen to him if he didn't—the awful slavery of love, children, and dear, dull domesticity.

Helena Huntington Smith is the author of many articles and books on the West, including The War on Powder River *(1966) and the forthcoming* The Not So American West.

Exploring the Northwest Territory: Sir Alexander Mackenzie's Journal of a Voyage by Bark Canoe from Lake Athabasca to the Pacific Ocean in the Summer of 1789 edited by T. H. McDonald (*University of Oklahoma Press, $4.95*).

The Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner with Stephen Watts Kearny to New Mexico and California, 1846 edited by Dwight L. Clark (*University of Oklahoma Press, $5.00*).

The Rocky Mountain West in 1867 by Louis L. Simonin. Translated by Wilson O. Clough (*University of Nebraska Press, $5.50*).

BY DAVID LUNDBERG

The travel or exploration journal can be a source of interest and delight to the historian and general reader alike. In this age of electronic "pseudo-events," there is something refreshing about reading straightforward accounts of an earlier, perhaps simpler, America. One thinks immediately of such diverse works as John Smith's *True Travels,* Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America,* and Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail*—all works with intrinsic reader interest. Unfortunately, only a few personal narratives ever reach such a level of quality. For every journal written by a Peter Kelm or a Frederick Olmsted, there are dozens of lesser accounts preserved in the archives of historical societies. While these are not likely to possess much value as literature, since items of superior literary merit generally have long since found their way into print, they often have value as historical tools, or at least as records.

Into the latter category falls Alexander Mackenzie's *Exploring the Northwest Territory.* In the summer of 1789, Mackenzie made a hazardous, 102-day voyage by canoe from Lake Athabasca in present-day Canada to Whale Island in the Pacific Ocean, searching for the fabled Northwest Passage. The failure of his mission ended further speculation over the existence of such a route. Mackenzie's personal journal of this trip, originally published in 1801, has now been reedited and annotated by Professor T. H. McDonald, who says that "the historical importance of Mackenzie's 1789 voyage of discovery cannot be over-emphasized . . ." since "until his exploration very little was known by Europeans of the vast area north and west of Lake Athabasca." This is true, of course, but one would never recognize the importance or difficulty of Mackenzie's undertaking as a consequence of reading his journal. The journal is matter-of-fact and businesslike; most of it is devoted to the potentially profitable aspects of the territory he explored—its trading and fishing potential, mineral deposits, and the like. What might have been an exciting narrative reads, instead, like an office memorandum.

The journey itself must have been exciting, for Professor McDonald (with wife, son, camera, and canoe) actually duplicated Mackenzie's trip, and he describes his 1965 experiences as "the most invigorating, back-breaking, breathtaking voyage" of his life. To the 93 pages of Mackenzie's narrative, Professor McDonald has affixed 450 footnotes to clarify the more obscure references in the text. Unfortunately, this necessary scholarly adjunct does little to enliven the often oppressively monotonous text.

For monotony, Mackenzie's account is matched by *The Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner.* Turner was born in Virginia in 1811. He went to West Point, did further study at a French military academy, served in the army fourteen years, and eventually settled in St. Louis, where he became a successful banker. As a Captain of Dragoons, he accompanied General Kearny on his long trek from New Mexico to California in the summer and fall of 1846. This was an arduous trip, perhaps not so dangerous as Mackenzie's canoe voyage but still a highly uncomfortable undertaking, which ended in the Battle of San Pasqual. Turner's account of these events, contained both in a journal and in a series of letters to his wife, were recently discovered in the Missouri Historical Society archives by Dwight L. Clarke, during the course of his research for a biography of Kearny.

Clarke's opinion that the Turner journal comprises both a significant contribution to the history of the Southwest and a compelling human document is perhaps too sanguine. It appears to this reader that the narrative adds little of importance to William Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth in Missouri to San Diego in California,* and it is certainly limited in its human-interest content. Turner, a lonely, homesick soldier, had almost no sympathy with the campaign or its leaders. He wanted only to serve his time and return to the security of his family. As a result, the journal lacks the spirit and color so characteristic of that other record of the Mexican War, Samuel Chamberlain's *My Confessions.*

In fact, considering what must have taken place during the journey to California, Turner's account is remarkably prosaic; moreover, his descriptions are often cryptic and abstract. The following passage is typical: "We encamped near a most singularly shaped mountain—it is more unique in its appearance than any mountain yet seen by us." A good part of the journal is devoted to Turner's personal musings on the philosophical questions of life, love, and mankind. The reader is frequently faced with such ruminations as: "Oh, foolish human nature, how frail thou art, how puffed up with thine own importance yet how impotent, how unimportant except in thine own estimation." Turner was obviously a typically self-conscious nineteenth-century diarist who wrote not for himself but for an audience.

While Turner and Mackenzie have left rather pedestrian accounts of their travels, the Frenchman Louis Simon certainly has not. Thanks to Professor Wilson O. Clough, we now have for the first time an English translation of Simon's long-neglected *The Rocky Mountain West in 1867.* Originally published in 1869 under the title *Le grand-ouest des Etats-Unis,* this book is the outgrowth of a series of letters Simon wrote to a friend while travelling through Wyoming and Colorado during the summer of 1867. Witty, literate, and intelligent, Simon, while no Tocqueville, was still

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a superior commentator on the American scene. Intensely pro-American, he came to praise, not to criticize; he constantly expressed his admiration for the life and institutions of the United States. Donning a flannel shirt, he entered into the crude conditions of life in the frontier towns of Denver, Cheyenne, and Fort Laramie with zest and enthusiasm. A true democrat, he thoroughly enjoyed the frontiersmen's free-and-easy manner of living—although, being a good Parisian, he was upset by the poor quality of their cooking.

As befits a countryman of Chateaubriand, Simon was particularly interested in the Indians; fully a third of the book is taken up by discussions of their history and customs. He was obsessed by the threat of being scalped, apparently having been convinced by his European friends that such a fate was possible, if not inevitable. But he dismissed the awful prospect with characteristic good humor. "If the Indians were destined to pierce me with arrows and scalp me," he writes, "one died but once, and not always by so dramatic an end, and I should not be the worst treated of the dying. So I cried, as the Americans do: 'Go ahead! *En avant*!'" Unlike many nineteenth-century Europeans, his attitude toward the Indians was distinctly unromantic. To him they appeared to be neither wholly noble nor wholly savage, but a curious and pathetic mixture of the two. With prophetic insight, he accurately foresaw their eventual extinction at the hands of white civilization, either by violence or through the degenerating influences of reservation life. While sympathetic to their plight, Simon realized that little could be done to help them. Well-written and humorous, Simon's journal is a delight to read. *The Rocky Mountain West in 1867* is a travel account at its very best, richly deserving of re-publication.

War Drums and Wagon Wheels: The Story of Russell, Majors and Waddell by Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle (*University of Nebraska Press, $5.95*).

BY DONALD R. MOORMAN

War Drums and Wagon Wheels culminates thirty years of research on one of the most significant episodes in the history of western America. Although the opening of the Santa Fe trade gave impetus to large scale overland freighting, it was military rather than civilian needs that gave birth to the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell. The delays and confusion that plagued logistics during the Mexican War prompted the army to abandon its policy of hiring civilian teamsters to transport military supplies. As a result, notices were published inviting bids from civilian contractors for the transportation of supplies from depots on the Missouri River to unspecified western posts. Since the scope of military operations excluded freighters with limited resources, the contracts were awarded to those firms the Army considered financially capable of handling the assignment. In order to secure some of these consignments, the partnership of William H. Russell, Alexander Majors, and William B. Waddell was formed in 1854.

In addition to the collective effort of the partnership, individual business ventures tied the members inextricably together. The single great weakness of the triumvirate was its inability to curb the irrational speculations of William H. Russell. However, in spite of Russell's many unfortunate enterprises, the demise of the firm can be traced directly to the heavy losses sustained while supplying the army under the command of General Albert Sidney Johnston during the Mormon War of 1857-58. In order to meet its military contracts, the firm resorted to acceptances endorsed by the Secretary of War, John B. Floyd. These acceptances were notes that recognized the government's obligation to the firm, but did not bind the government to payment. Speculation and diversification of business activities failed to ease the firm's financial embarrassment, and soon Russell became involved in the Indian Trust Fund scandal. The result was predictable: Russell could not redeem the bonds of the Indian Trust Fund. He was arrested, but escaped punishment on a technicality. Nevertheless, the assets of the firm were placed in the hands of creditors.

Although not explicitly defined as such, the present book is an enlargement of an earlier study, *Empire on Wheels*. The writers' major purpose is to present a book that will "make available a portion of the vast amount of manuscript material in our files to scholars, librarians. collectors of books on Western history, and students." With the exception of the papers of Russell, Majors,

and Waddell, the source material is not particularly new. In fact, the Settles fail to utilize even the abundant material that has been published since their original study. A notable example of this is their neglect of the definitive study by Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, which deals with the Utah Expedition of 1857-58. Nor have the writers explored the wealth of military records and unpublished diaries that have been collected and classified by various university, state, and federal archives. Post returns, correspondence from the Department of Utah, and the private journals of the military and civilian personnel would have revealed the problems arising from food spoilage, storage, and the conflict over grazing rights.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the book merits the attention of serious students of western Americana. As a result of their evaluation of contracts, ledgers, and personal correspondence of the partners, the writers have been able to present a clear, precise picture of the unfortunate tendency of Russell, Majors, and Waddell to form outside partnerships that made their business transactions too complicated to be expedited efficiently. While accomplishing this task, the authors have clarified several misconceptions about the period. The myth that proponents of the Southern Route trapped Russell into issuing acceptances is put to rest. (Russell never leveled this charge against his competitors, nor is there evidence to substantiate the accusation.) The Pony Express was not founded because of the patriotic desire to develop rapid East-West communication; rather, it was viewed as a legitimate investment designed to help secure lucrative mail contracts. Furthermore, the Pony Express was never owned by the Wells Fargo Company, nor did Wells Fargo formulate policies, fix rates, or supervise the administration of the Pony Express.

Students of Utah history will be interested to note that the United States government failed to reimburse Russell, Majors, and Waddell for almost half a million dollars in losses sustained during the Utah Expedition; the Mormon War proved to be a financial liability from which the firm could not recover. Obviously, then, the popular thesis that the Utah War was the result of contractors' attempts to capitalize on the Mormon conflict with the Federal government needs re-evaluation.

Associate professor of history at Weber State College, Donald R. Moorman is author of a forthcoming book on Albert Sidney Johnston and the Mormons.

Aspects of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the 1965 North American Fur Trade Conference (*Minnesota Historical Society, $3.95*).

This selected compendium of materials relating to the fur trade, while hampered as all such collections usually are by uneven quality, is perhaps best represented by three of the offerings: Dale L. Morgan's "The Fur Trade and Its Historians" (reprinted from the Spring 1966 issue of *The American West*), David Lavender's "Some American Characteristics of the American Fur Trade," and James L. Clayton's "The Growth and Economic Significance of the American Fur Trade, 1790-1890." Clayton's paper illuminates some of the statistical background available on the subject, and discusses some of the drawbacks involved in reliance on present materials. Altogether, it does much to establish a foundation for more intensive economic study. Lavender's contribution, marked by the author's lucid prose, is an outline of those geographical, political, and economic conditions south of the international border that forced the American Fur Company to evolve characteristics peculiarly representative of "the American frontier milieu in which the firm operated."

Among Morgan's uncommonly perceptive and often biting observations on the state of history and the fur trade are several whose significance transcends the subject matter, including one of the most telling remarks ever cast in the way of the self-satisfied: "To begin with, many historians are in too much of a hurry for a payoff; they will not take the time to qualify themselves to the point that they know what they are talking about; they do not stop to *think*."

A Treasury of Nebraska Pioneer Folklore compiled by Roger L. Welsch (*University of Nebraska Press, $4.95*).

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virtues typical of the best folklore collections—and a good many of the apparently endemic faults. Folklore materials, by any reasonable judgment, can rarely be considered more than an adjunct to broader historical study; yet they are an increasingly necessary one, for the traditions of folklore often hint at the truth of history with a directness that most other mediums cannot match. Take, for example, this bitter little excerpt from a song celebrating the joys of prairie farming: "Hurrah for Lane County, the land of the free/ the home of the grasshopper, bedbug, and flea/ I'll holler its praises, and sing of its fame/ while starving to death on a Government Claim."

Joe Lane of Oregon: Machine Politics and the Sectional Crisis, 1849-1861 by James E. Hendrickson (*Yale University Press, $6.50*).

Joseph Lane was a member of what Professor Hendrickson describes as "a particular breed of politicians—Western carpetbaggers, they have been called, who went out to take advantage of the unusual opportunities awaiting those who were able to exploit them."

"Whether conditions on the frontier bred or attracted persons with peculiar qualities," he adds with a touch of irony, "has been a matter of considerable debate among historians since the time of Frederick Jackson Turner."

Home-grown or imported, Joe Lane's political ambitions found fruition in the Oregon landscape. In his rendition of Lane's twelve-year career as Territorial Governor, then Senator, Professor Hendrickson has laid bare with skill and insight the Salem Democratic "machine," an organization molded and promoted by such men as Asahel Bush and James W. Nesmith into something that displayed much of the efficiency, if less of the highhanded graft, of similar eastern brotherhoods. More importantly, perhaps—although machine politics in the West is a subject well worth any man's attention—the author also chronicles the effects in Oregon of sectionalism's years of crisis, an era whose atmosphere is suggested by Lane's own observation that "if I prize anything highly and above price, it is the *jewel of consistency* as a Democrat." That single-mindedness placed him in sympathy with the Confederate cause, an alignment that ultimately brought him down.

When the Eagle Screamed: The Romantic Horizon in American Diplomacy, 1800-1860 by William H. Goetzmann (*John Wiley & Sons*).

In this trenchant little study of American diplomacy in the first half of the nineteenth century, Professor Goetzmann illuminates the sources of this country's entrance into the politics and economics of the larger world, from Tripoli to Japan. Far from being entirely an "Age of Free Security," in which internal development was the major and almost sole consideration, Goetzmann reveals the era as one of relatively intense global involvement, when expansionists of one ilk or another were determined to spread the message of America—and not infrequently hoped to make a little money in the bargain. More significantly, perhaps, Professor Goetzmann has emphasized the fact that the United States' assumption of terrestrial responsibility is not an exclusive phenomenon of the mid-twentieth century, but in fact part of a long, if not always honorable tradition. *When the Eagle Screamed* is one of a series of eight books on American diplomatic history produced under the general editorship of Robert A. Divine.

ESPECIALLY RECOMMENDED:

MEXICAN REBEL: Pascual Orozco and the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1915. By Michael C. Meyer. The only complete biography of Gen. Orozco to appear in either Spanish or English, this new study analyzes Orozco's revolutionary career and traces the course of the 1910 Revolution in Chihuahua. *Cloth* **$5.50**

LANDON OF KANSAS: By Donald McCoy. This first full-length biography of Alfred M. Landon and the first to make full use of the extensive Landon Papers also offers the most detailed account available of GOP politics from 1933 to 1948. *Cloth* **$8.50**

GREAT GUNFIGHTERS OF THE KANSAS COWTOWNS, 1867-1886. By Nyle H. Miller and Joseph W. Snell. Selected from *Why the West Was Wild* (1963), these accounts of 21 gunfighters (among them Wyatt Earp, Bat Masterson, Luke Short and Joe Lowe) are based on primary source materials. *Paper* (Bison Book 333) **$1.95**

SOD AND STUBBLE: The Story of a Kansas Homestead. By John Ise. Illustrated by Howard Simon. Americans of German birth, the author's parents homesteaded in western Kansas in 1873. "Theirs is a story of amazing heroism...unaccented, unadorned. A stirring book"—*New York Times.* *Paper* (Bison Book 372) **$1.95**

SON OF OLD MAN HAT: A Navaho Autobiography. Recorded by Walter Dyk. Foreword by Edward Sapir. "Dr. Dyk has handled his remarkable material with restraint and rare skill. The result has the precious quality of immediacy"—Clyde Kluckhohn, *Boston Transcript* *Cloth* **$4.50**
Paper (Bison Book 355) **$1.65**

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Island in the Sound by Hazel Heckman (*University of Washington Press, $5.95*).

Island in the Sound is what might be described as local history at its best, free of the cant and convolutions normally typical of regional memoirs. For one thing, Miss Heckman makes no claim to objectivity in her rendering of the past and present of Anderson Island in Puget Sound. She takes throughout a warmly personal view—her own view laced with the reflections of others who live on the Island—and the final result has much of the polish and perception of something one might hope to see in a *New Yorker* profile.

This is not to disclaim the book's value as history. To Miss Heckman, Anderson Island represents something more than a passing degree of nostalgia. Her "casual biography of an island," as she describes it, memorializes by inference the passing of the small country town lost in the sprawl of urban calamity.

Reference Encyclopedia of the American Indian by Bernard Klein and Daniel Icolari (*B. Klein and Company, $15.00*).

It would seem inevitable that in an encyclopedia that attempts to present "under one cover the most thorough compilation of related source materials ever assembled" on the subject of the American Indian, there would exist one or two areas covered with something less than encyclopedic comprehensiveness. Unhappily, this compilation of information fails more than once or twice in this regard, and on the whole displays a generally haphazard air. For example: under the section entitled "Libraries," California is passed over completely, neither the Huntington Library of San Marino, nor the Bancroft Library of Berkeley being listed; under "Newspapers, Magazines, and Periodicals" both *The American West* and the *Journal of the West* are missing, together with any number of scholarly journals which have and continue to treat of the Indian.

THE FRONTIER HERITAGE

(Continued from page 15)

the locus of anomie, either in sociological factors (objective conditions) or in psychological factors (subjective emotions and perceptions). Finally, if anomie means anything, it means a frustrating sense of emptiness and a self-destroying pessimism (e.g., Robert McCloskey and John Schaar, "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy," *American Sociological Review*, February 1965), and such neurotic traits hardly correspond to the proudful optimism and belief in free will and progress so characteristic of the frontier mentality.

MORE THAN any other historian, Billington has brilliantly evaluated the frontier heritage in all its complexity. Yet this reviewer puts the book down with a sense of uneasiness. For the disturbing thing about the frontier is that it has left Americans so unprepared for the problems of the modern world. The virtues of hard work, for example, can hardly be sustained in a society of automated leisure; material values may very well be mocked in an age of increasing affluence; optimism and belief in free will ring hollow in a culture of manipulated mass media (a la McLuhan) and in a nuclear diplomacy of devoluted political and military power; anti-intellectualism and distrust of elites are not the traits conducive to a specialized society requiring a responsible "establishment"; the rejection of individual and class distinctions may not be the answer for a people who, we are told, are suffering from an "identity crisis." In this respect, the frontier heritage must be looked upon as an ambiguous legacy at best.

It may be true, as George W. Pierson has shown, that frontier mobility produced in the American character what Tocqueville aptly called "a restless temper." Billington, although occasionally critical, looks upon such behavioral patterns with far more equanimity than this reader could muster. Regarding the Americans' insatiable urge for mobility, for example, Billington states: "Moving has become an American fever; the Americans will continue to be a nation of habitual migrants as long as they hope for a better life and a better world." One wonders about this fevered American Dream. Perhaps Tennessee Williams came closer to the truth when one of his characters remarked that we are "attempting to find in motion what was lost in space."

John P. Diggins is Assistant Professor of History at San Francisco State College.

LEATHER LEGGINS

(Continued from page 13)

great, although we have had two biographies of bucking horses. His story is the first, too, to give us insight into the distaff side of rodeo life, because it is based upon his widow's reminiscences of their years together. She, even as the dainty, daring, and greatly worshipped Mabel Strickland, makes a startling contrast to the stretch-pants'd fillies horsing around the rodeo grounds of today. The flavor of her life as Mrs. Crosby comes through clearly. So does the unabashed love of that life and that man, despite such Crosbian foibles as trying to cure a gangrenous leg by encasing it in an inner tube filled with fresh cow manure before retiring for the night to their double, and only, bed. That these flavors, this unabashed love story, are retained without artifice is due to Eve Ball of Ruidoso, New Mexico, who knows the country, the people, and the times that held Bob Crosby's life. This very lack of artifice, coupled with its "as told to" nature, makes the narrative in spots as disconnected as a broken cinch. This does not impair its contribution towards the history of "Rodeo," nor does it mar its contribution toward understanding today's residual manifestations of the frontier ethos.

It is not claimed—certainly not in the same vein that the film *High Noon* was once alleged to explain American foreign policy—that the national Id is revealed all raw and quivering in the rodeo arenas. It is suggested quietly that the personal quest for identity, for a manageable present, for a meaningful confrontation with the realities of life, is fulfilled in those arenas, today as in the past, for those who engage in the man-beast contests that Crosby and his ilk made public entertainment. If this be true, even if it be only reasonable, then *Bob Crosby* tells us *why* an exemplar of his breed continued to court the bright face of danger long after he was crippled so badly as to merit a quilted seat in a warm hearth corner. What now remains is for some duly certificated and computer-equipped behaviorist to explain understandably why we in the grandstands keep a-comin'.

W. H. Hutchinson is Professor of History at Chico State College and a contributing editor of The American West.

LOOKING WESTWARD

By Joseph E. Illick

I ONCE THOUGHT that growing up in a small, isolated, homogeneous community made my youth—and therefore my life—relatively unique in our urban, heterogeneous society. Having since lived in several cities, big and little, I have altered my opinion. Most Americans attempt to isolate themselves and their children by seeking friendships among "their own kind." Why not, in a society where the choice is given? Still, we talk of the melting pot, of assimilation, of consensus. It is a public ideal, most easily accomplished in the West. Frederick Jackson Turner claimed with pride: "In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race."

Yet we all recognize immediately how loosely the word "race" is used here. When we speak in terms of skin pigmentation, the pot stops melting. Certain ethnic lines are crossed by marriage, but miscegenation has taken place furtively or forcibly (or both) in most cases. Our society is divided by race; we will not countenance total assimilation. The alternative, in a democracy, should be pluralism, the antithesis of consensus. We are thus caught in a dilemma between ideals and reality, a dilemma which is manifest in many recent books about the West.

IN 1953, Congress passed a resolution which called for the termination of federal control and supervision of the American Indian, which, of course, implied the end of federal obligation as well. In response to this action, the Fund for the Republic, Inc., established the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indians. From this group of distinguished and interested citizens has come a study, **The Indian: America's Unfinished Business** (University of Oklahoma Press, $5.95), a title that carries a judgment on the Eighty-Third Congress: it acted precipitately. The introduction notes that "the public has had insufficient interest or knowledge to develop an adequate policy"—an observation that does not encourage the hope that legislators will take heed of this book.

Its message is clear and should be heard—the condition of America's Indians is dismal. In separate chapters it is pointed out that the "economic position of the Indians is less favorable than that of any other American minority group"; that the education of Indian children is similarly lagging; that there is a real "disparity between the poor health of the Indians and the comparative good health of the average United States citizen"; that Indians do not actually have the power of self-government; that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is inefficient; and that the Congressional termination resolution of 1953 can only accentuate these problems because it "concentrates, not on the best interests of the Indians, but on easing the burden on the federal government."

The Commission recommends the reform and continuance of federal aid and contends that "the Indian himself should be the focus of all policy affecting him" and that the program adopted should be "one willed by the Indians themselves." This is a noble sentiment from a commission whose only Indian member is an oil company executive. Indeed, this gathering of successful Americans believes that problems heretofore unsolved can be handled if attention is given to such recommendations as the following: "The Bureau's [of Indian Affairs] work, however, should be supplemented by a board of distinguished citizens, appointed by the President and advisory to the secretary to look at the Indian people as part of the totality of American life."

The Commission's recommendations largely consist of structural changes in the administration of Indian affairs, particularly with an eye to fostering the growth of self-government and increasing federal aid. Perhaps this would put a brighter face on things—brighter, but not really different. Although William A. Brophy, the executive director of the Commission, feels that no other nation has tried as hard as the United States to deal fairly with its native aboriginal people, the late Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger's contribution reminds readers that Americans have expected Indians to conform to majority ways while placing them in circumstances where this was most difficult. Yet Schlesinger's views on the future of the Indian are unclear and even confusing, because he did not come to grips with the dichotomy between assimilation and cultural federalism, both of which he espoused.

Structural changes and increased aid will not affect the real problem, which is the acceleration of differences between a static and a dynamic culture (a fact noted in the section prepared by Professor Peter Dormer). The anomoly between white and red Americans will be even more obvious in the future than today, unless one of the two groups rejects its culture. Predictions that these disparate cultures will merge on the basis of welfare recipiency or a mutual regard for leisure time seem ill-considered.

THE GROTESQUE IMPACT of white culture upon the Indian is graphically captured by photographer Leroy Lucas in **The Shoshoneans. The People of the Basin Plateau** (William Morrow and Co., $6.95). A cowboy-hatted Indian, with braided hair and weathered face, eating "Famous Cookies" and "Eddy's Buns" on a roadside picnic; an Indian wino; a brave smoking a peace pipe on the billboard of Roy's Auto Sales, coaxing potential buyers to "Pow Wow Here!"; an "Indian Revival Center"—these photographs and others not only show the clash of cultures but capture the spirit of the people and the atmosphere in which they live.

The text by Edward Dorn is a fitting complement to the illustrations. Dorn's prose, so personal and individualistic, is as different from the crisp, official language of *The Indian* as is his message. Suddenly we are confronted with people in an environment to which, despite the white take-over, they belong. The opening chapter sets the tone as Dorn and Lucas visit Willie Dorsey, 102 years old:

> The place was intensely neglected, I gradually saw, and not just filthy as it looked to be at first glance. It was simply the remains of a life. . . .
>
> His feet were dirty. In the dry cli-

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mate they had gone untended until, on the floor of the room at ends of his legs, wasted to leather covered bone, they rested cracked in the dry air and drifting soil. . . .

There was in me an oppressive thrill of my own presence. I thought of it as a ruptured cord in the consciousness, a strong confusion of the signals of my culture. . . . I felt I would "realize" him somewhere in the cache of all *my own* sentience.

The reader comes to scorn, as Dorn does, "those pasty doctors at the agency hospital" with their "pop-ritual of medical deodorization." This aged man was clean, in another way, and certainly should not be moved to die in a modern medical facility.

Dorn is unconcerned with factual detail—he cannot remember the genealogy of a Wyoming Congressman and so lists several alternatives. The he cites "Ethan Allen's simple-minded lament that he had only *one* life to give for his country." Yet he penetrates where facts would not take him. Through a day's activities with Wilbur P., a hitch-hiking rodeo performer who took Dorn and Lucas to visit his relatives, there is an insight into contemporary Indian life which no textbook can match. In this and other instances, Dorn illustrates his contention that "contact with the white man has done little to improve the Shoshoni, despite the fact that some of them cling, at least in conversation, to the most dubious straws of American technology—the battered automobile, canned beer, artificially produced wine, the thinner and thinner yards of calico their wives and daughters wear, their own western jeans." As to "progress," Dorn claims the Indians may use the word, but they have no idea what it means.

To make these harsh judgments on the advance of white civilization and not to sound shrill requires an empathy with the Indians which Dorn has achieved. It is partly accomplished through Lucas who, because he is a Negro, made the two men suspect in the white world but not in the Indian. Dorn's mood is not simply the consequence of alienation from whites, but also the product of the deep-seated belief in the integrity of the Indian way, especially in matters spiritual. When Lucas entered the games and ceremonies of the Shoshoni-Bannocks and stayed on to photograph the sun dances, Dorn returned to find that, "though he seemed at first the same as ever . . . he had, I gradually saw, changed. There was a subtle clarity and calm permeated his being."

IN POCATELLO, Dorn discussed the twentieth-century addition of peyotism to Indian religion with an articulate tribesman who observed that while taking drugs "may be a useful disparateness on the part of a troubled person in white society," it was not necessary for an Indian. He could achieve his cosmic identity without a hallucinogen. David F. Aberle, an anthropologist, examines this question at length and with care in **The Peyote Religion Among the Navajo** (Aldine Publishing Co., $10.00) and finds, among other causes, that "peyotism is a reasonable response to degraded status." He also states that "nativistic cults originate in experiences of relative deprivation engendered by the domination of one group by another which possesses an alien and more powerful culture."

Peyote was the first psychedelic drug to be used in quantity by the so-called "Beats" in the late 1950's, but they soon switched to mescaline and other synthetics. In a celebrated essay, "The White Negro," Norman Mailer attributed Hipsterism to "the psychic havoc of the concentration camps and the atom bomb" and the threat of enforced conformity ("it is no accident that the source of Hip is the Negro for he has been living on the margin between totalitarianism and democracy for two centuries"). David Aberle's explanation of peyotism is more mundane, perhaps because it is based on extensive research. He points out that although the Navajos were placed on their reservation in the 1860's, they did not suffer as did other Indians through repeated reduction of their land holdings, and while they had minor problems, neither their political organization nor their means of livelihood were disturbed with the Depression. It was not until 1933, when it became the policy of the federal government to reduce livestock on the overgrazed Navajo ranges, that the Indians became "acutely disturbed." Aberle writes: "The possible connection between peyotism and livestock reduction had occurred to me many times in the course of my field work, but only as one among many issues to be explored. In the end, it was the only factor that was significantly associated with cult membership."

Aberle examines not only the sources of peyotism, but in addition describes the Navajo religion for purposes of comparison to the beliefs and rituals of the Native American Church (the peyotists). He discusses the opposition within the Navajo community to the cult. It is notable that when Aberle made his investigation in the early 1950's, over 80% of Navajos opposed peyotism; but the cult is gaining members today.

At the conclusion of his long and detailed study, Aberle confesses: "I think that this book might have been more evocative than it is." Any book that uses graphs, tables, and the jargon of social science runs this risk, but Aberle's account is interesting nonetheless.

IF, HOWEVER, you have a taste for plain writing ("Early Navajos did not have much clothing. . . . The men wore a G-string. The women, at first, had just a little apron in front and another in back."), a simple approach to problems ("During the early thirties the federal government did everything it could to make the Navajos realize that there were too many sheep and some would have to go . . . the Indians could not understand and did not want to understand"), and a yearning for the best of all possible worlds ("In the future it is expected that the Navajos will take their places beside other Americans in industry, arts and sciences as the world of the future develops"), then Dorothy F. Robinson's **Navajo Indians Today** (Naylor Co., $3.95) may be your fare.

MY OWN PREFERENCE in books of this short and simple genre is for accounts which are less obviously bound to the white world. Carl Sweezy (1881-1953), a full-blooded Arapaho who described his youthful life on the reservation to Althea Bass, is the protagonist of **The Arapaho Way** (Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., $5.95). It is a tale told almost blandly, for Sweezy lacked bitterness and was extremely tolerant. If an event annoyed him, he simply passed over it quickly or treated it with understatement. Yet this is the strength of his account. It is an implicit argument for an uncomplicated and natural way of life, and consequently a quiet but adverse judgment on the ways of the invader.

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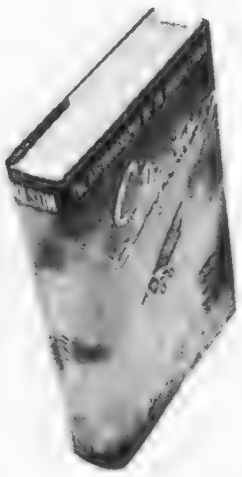

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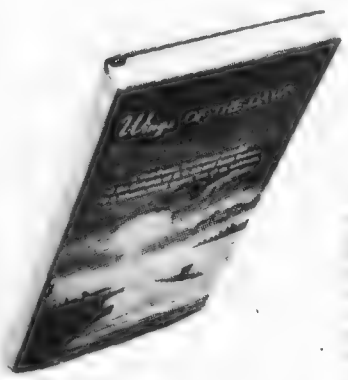

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> The white man, our people used to say, builds a big fire and sits far away from it; the Indian builds a little fire and sits close. Our fires took less wood and made less smoke.
>
> Living close to nature, the Indians were true conservationists. They were self-sufficient in the environment they knew—which oftentimes was neither the reservation they were moved to nor the farming life forced upon them. Sweezy's chapter "From Freighters to Fighters" is a poignant account of the passing of a way of life. And yet, he expressed a high regard for the Indian agents, missionaries, and soldiers who were the harbingers of change. Also included in this book are twenty-two of Sweezy's paintings, very nicely reproduced.

THE YOUTH and early manhood of a Cheyenne, whose nation lived near, and was allied with, the Arapaho, were sympathetically re-created by George Bird Grinnell in 1920 under the title **When Buffalo Ran.** This tale, described by J. Frank Dobie as "noble and beautifully simple," has been reissued by the Western Frontier Library (University of Oklahoma Press, $2.00). In many ways it reinforces what Sweezy says—and does not say: "The wars were begun between the white people and my tribe. . . . Of that bad time and of what followed that time, I do not wish to speak, and so my story ends."

THE FIRST EUROPEANS who encountered the Indians did not take land but gave horses, making possible the consequences described by LaVerne Harrell Clark in **They Sang for Horses: The Impact of the Horse on Navajo and Apache Folklore** (University of Arizona Press, $12.00). Rather than to give a straightforward narrative in the manner of Althea Bass or George Bird Grinnell, Mrs. Clark has chosen to compare accounts of Indian myths, tales, and other lore in an attempt to show all interpretations. At one point she notes "the tedious task a collector faces in drawing out all the information an informant has at his disposal and in making sure the informant does not forget any details at the time of the recording." The second step, that of contrasting these recordings, is carried out thoroughly—but no less tediously. The third step—reading it—therefore becomes a chore.

This unfortunate fact is partially obscured by the design of the volume, which gives it the appearance of a picture book. Yet aside from seven handsome full-page reproductions of Indian art work, the book is illustrated only with sketches by Ted DeGrazia. DeGrazia's stick figures in the margins contribute nothing to the book and mar its success as an artistic production.

The Red Man's West, (Hastings House, $10.00), on the other hand, is a graphic delight. The writing—an assembly of articles on the Indians of the High Plains and the Rockies gathered by Michael Kennedy from *Montana, The Magazine of Western History*—is not unusual in style or content, though there are several interesting essays. The illustrations and especially the photographs, many of which date from the nineteenth century, are appropriately placed, large enough to show unusual detail, and often evocative. The personal portraits deserve comparison with those in *The Shoshoneans.*

IN THE YEARS immediately following the Civil War, when the fever of westward expansion again gripped the nation, the Plains were inhabited by Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, and Kiowa Indians. Members of these nations, except the Sioux, met a United States Peace Commission in the summer of 1867 in south central Kansas. The outcome of that meeting provides the subject for **The Treaty of Medicine Lodge** (University of Oklahoma Press, $5.95). Douglas C. Jones calls this treaty "the last effort of the United States to reach a diplomatic settlement of disputes with all the hostile tribes south of the Platte River. Clearly outlined was the beginning of a system that would eventually confine the Indians to specific reservations, by force if necessary, and included for the first time in an Indian treaty were provisions for civilizing the tribes." Jones, however, does not concern himself with these consequences—which he regards as unfortunate—but with the negotiations which led to the treaty as seen by the reporters at Medicine Lodge. His tale "is a news story, told by newsmen."

Early in his account Jones refers to "the muddled relationship that existed between the army and the Department of the Interior" (for a succinct examination of these "muddled" relations, see Robert G. Athearn's essay in *The Red Man's West*). But Jones does not use this perspective as a means of interpreting the negotiations. Indeed, there is no evident structure to his story—it is neither thematic nor a narrative of suspense—nor even a colorful story. His main concern is to show how different reporters saw the same event or person. The result is a book with interesting and perhaps useful details but no overall effect. History through journalism has its obvious defects.

A wider range of sources and a well-sustained narrative are evident in Mark H. Brown's **The Flight of the Nez Perce: A History of the Nez Perce War** (G. P. Putnam's Sons, $8.95). This conflict, in which Chief Joseph fought engagement after engagement while moving his pursued people through the northern Rockies from June until his surrender in October, 1877, was described by General William T. Sherman as "one of the most extraordinary Indian wars of which there is any record," and it remains one of the best-known events of Western history. It is unlikely, however, that readers will be familiar with the many details that this book recounts virtually day-by-day; letters, diaries, and reports are quoted liberally and effectively. There are also several useful maps. In his self-proclaimed effort to make a scientific "estimate of the situation," Brown has solved the problem of interpretation by passing no judgment beyond that of weighing the available evidence. (It should be noted that he does not assign Chief Joseph the pre-eminent role which other historians have accorded him.)

The decades following the Civil War were witness not only to climactic wars and treaties in the West, but to a debate in Washington as to how the Indians who had been herded onto reservations might best be handled. There were military and civilian positions. In **Indian Police and Judges** (Yale University Press, $6.50), William T. Hogan notes that "the concept of Indian police forces did give the opponents of the military an alternative to reliance on troops." Eastern reformers saw the provision of law for the Indian as a means of civilizing him. In the West, agents on the reservations saw the same process as an answer to the difficult problem of administration, and it was they who initiated the policy without prompting from Washington (where economy-minded

Congressmen were reinforced by colleagues who constituted an army lobby and had no interest in seeing an Indian police system work). None of these groups—agents, reformers, soldiers, Congressmen—understood the Indians well enough to comprehend their patterns of law and order.

Explicit instructions to organize Indian police forces finally came in 1878, and a Court of Indian Offenses was ordered into existence five years later. Hagan skillfully uses specific examples to show the sort of clashes and solutions that occurred when one culture was imposed on another. The Dawes Act of 1887, by placing Indians receiving land allotments under the same jurisdiction as whites, marked the beginning of the end for Indian police and judges; but remnants remained, undisturbed by the granting of citizenship to all Indians in 1924. "As hope faded that the time was imminent when Indians could be totally absorbed into American society," Hagan states, "Courts of Indian Offenses and Indian police became fixtures in Indian communities." The problems remain, also. On the basis of rather slim evidence, Hagan optimistically predicts that "acculturation will gradually close the gulf separating the practices of Indian courts from the practices of other courts of our nation."

IS ACCULTURATION a reasonable possibility? Arriving in North America with the earliest English settlers and receiving their citizenship more than half a century before the Indians, Negroes still inhabit reservations (*de facto* if not *de jure*). Next to Harlem, the best-known of these is Watts in south-central Los Angeles, the subject of Jerry Cohens and William S. Murphy's **Burn, Baby, Burn!** (E. P. Dutton, $5.95). The two authors are reporters on the *Los Angeles Times*. Their book is well written and fast-moving, but the many vignettes do not provide an explanation for the riots that lasted a week in August, 1965. It seems particularly significant that the role of the press in provoking the outbursts is virtually ignored. Rioters are quoted as yelling: "That's for Bogalusa"; "That's for Selma"; and "That's the hate that hate has produced" (the title of a 1959 TV show on black nationalism). It is also noted, but without comment, that the police "advised television personnel that their presence could be harmful. But, rightly or wrongly, television station officials believed they were obliged to cover the developments as a public service."

The Cohen and Murphy account, like Brown's narrative of the Nez Perce war, is an attempt to give a detailed description without passing judgment or putting forward a general interpretation. The lives of a number of the participants are re-created (though not with the force and depth of the personal portraits that appeared in *Look* on October 5. 1965). Also, the authors show an understanding of, and sympathy for, the predicament of the police: the conflicting jurisdictions in Los Angeles and the consequent conflicts between the L. A. Police Department and the California Highway Patrol. Human interest sketches of officers involved in quelling the riots make clear the obvious but sometimes forgotten fact that police are employed to look for, and deal with, trouble. Yet nowhere do Cohen and Murphy give credible reasons for the charges of police brutality made by the residents of Watts, charges which television viewers saw substantiated in at least one incident. Certainly the reader is not expected to take seriously Mayor Yorty's quoted explanation: "Communists, fellow-travelers, dupes, and demagogues have drummed the charge of 'police brutality' into the ears of the people of this area." Is there a western perspective that might be used here? When riots occurred simultaneously in Philadelphia, the police successfully used fire hoses to put down the disturbances. In Watts they used guns.

But not probing into and behind the events, epithets, and personalities involved, the authors have inadvertently put forward a judgment, for the simple reason that, in a society officially dedicated to law and order, a straightforward recounting of the events of a riot implicitly lays blame on the law-breakers. Furthermore, it is not enough to recount vignettes and draw human interest sketches when such visceral terms as "nigger" are being used and both sides are shooting to kill. Although it is generally agreed that Negro teen-agers were more responsible than any other group for the riots, Cohen and Murphy's only "profile of the typical youngester" is a composite portrait "obtained by feeding data to computers at UCLA." Twenty-five years ago Richard Wright gave us a more comprehensible understanding of the Watts riot through the character of Bigger Thomas in *Native Son*.

And what of the melting pot? It might seem that the Negro, stripped of his African culture through passage to the New World, should be more easily assimilated than the culturally-inhibited Indian. In this instance, the reluctance to assimilate has not been his but white America's. In an essay dealing with both the Indian and Negro, partly in terms of the frontier ("Race—the Dream and the Nightmare"), literary critic Leslie Fiedler has argued:

> Ghettoization has, then, two purposes: to force on those who are ghettoized conditions of squalor which seem to verify the grounds of discrimination against them; and to make them if not unreal, at least invisible. We affect surprise at how "invisible" the German concentration camps were to many Germans; but precisely as "invisible" are the Negro ghettos of New York and Chicago to those who never walk that way; for to be there "invisible" is precisely the point of their existence.

FIEDLER'S POINT that we seem to insist upon the invisibility of our ghettoes is harsh, certainly, and a view which many Americans would probably find unpalatable. Yet Fiedler's terminology has been used by Allen R. Bosworth to describe another recent western event—the "relocation" during World War II of 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry, over sixty percent of whom were American citizens by birth—in **America's Concentration Camps** (Norton, $5.95). This is also a journalistic account, though it lacks the skill and apparent impartiality of *Burn, Baby, Burn!* The title, considering the horrible connotation of the words "concentration camps," sets the tone of uncontrolled outrage that pervades the book. Not that any reasonable American could deny the unjust and shameful nature of this episode: we must all share the responsibility, Hearst columnists with Walter Lippman, Native Sons and Daughters of California with Earl Warren. Men of all political persuasions called for evacuation of the Japanese from the coast to the interior.

But what we need more than moral outrage is understanding, and there is very little in Bosworth's story that explains the origins of anti-Japanese senti-

ment in the West. Most of the complaints he cites are simply representative of anti-immigrant hysteria of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, yet the other immigrants—such as first- and second-generation Italians and Germans—were not bothered during the war. Racism was surely a major factor; the Japanese in pluralistic Hawaii were not uprooted. Bosworth does quote some damning testimony in this regard. Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, Commander of the Western Theater of Operation, said in 1943: "There is developing a sentiment on the part of certain individuals to get the Japanese back to the Coast. I am opposing it with every means at my disposal. . . . A Jap's a Jap. They are a dangerous element, whether loyal or not." (At this time, of course, the "Japs" were serving with distinction in the U. S. Army.) In 1947 the official organ of The Native Sons and Daughters called for the preservation of California as "a White Man's paradise." The Commonwealth Club of San Francisco heard a speech putting the question as one of "race undesirability." It is not surprising that a young Nisei, asked whether he would fit better in Japan or the United States, answered: "I can't say because of racial prejudices in this country." Yet, these and other instances cited by Bosworth cannot be considered a substitute for a fully-developed argument concerning racism, one that would take into consideration alternate causes for discrimination.

Nor is there a lucid presentation of the constitutionality of evacuation, though Bosworth notes Westbrook Pegler's opinion, "to hell with habeas corpus until the danger is over," and he shows how evasive the judicial branch of the government was. It is, of course, to the immense credit of the Supreme Court, and therefore the country, that before the war ended the uprooting of the Japanese was ruled unconstitutional and most of them were allowed to return home. This did not change everyone's attitude, however. In 1945, Captain David K. Inouye (presently U. S. Senator from Hawaii), in uniform with a Purple Heart and without an arm, was told in a San Francisco barber shop: "We don't serve Japs here."

ALTHOUGH all of the books here considered have a western setting, the tension between assimilation and pluralism is not regional but national. It may be hoped that this second and larger perspective is the more likely to ameliorate the problem. In *The Winning of the West*, Theodore Roosevelt observed: "The settler and the pioneer have at bottom had justice on their side; this great continent could not have been kept as nothing but a game preserve for squalid savages." But two decades later he referred to the 1906 segregated school law in San Francisco as "a wicked absurdity" and told his son that "the infernal fools in California . . . insult the Japanese recklessly." Roosevelt may not have changed, but his vantage point had. As President while the United States was rapidly moving from isolation to world involvement, he realized the importance of global opinion to foreign policy. As this country today moves in the direction of greater toleration of diverse opinions and respect for minority rights, it is interesting to ponder whether the larger impetus in this movement has been concern for the realization of democratic ideals at home or the desire to win non-Caucasian friends abroad.

Joseph E. Illick, of the History Department at San Francisco State College, is Book Editor of The American West Review.

HEROES AND HORSE SOLDIERS

(Continued from page 11)

Negro's face because the man was looking too closely at the brass buttons on his Norwich University cadet uniform; but by the end of the Civil War he was almost a Radical Republican, helping to unseat his old friend Congressman John A. Kasson, partly because the latter was too close to Andrew Johnson on the race question; later, he participated in the bargaining that finished off military Reconstruction and the Negro's post-war advances by coupling them with the Texas and Pacific Railroad—and in his late years he wanted renewed federal activity on behalf of the Negro's rights and thought Theodore Roosevelt too subservient to the South on that question.

Dodge lived to be eighty-four, and in his late years became something of an elder statesman. Thus President McKinley could call on him to investigate the scandals of the Spanish War. Another activity of the same period was his defense of the army's methods of suppressing the Filipino Insurrection. He had little patience with the intellectuals and journalists who described the coun-

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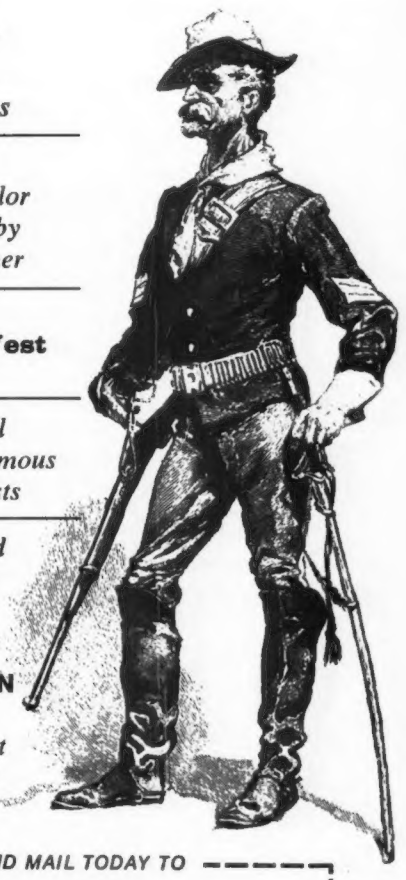

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try's Asian policy as one of imperialism, murder, and torture; he had "no sympathy with that small element in our country which always criticizes it, when in trouble. They seem to be so constituted mentally that their support always goes out to the enemy, and their hopes lie in our defeat."

He and his fellow Civil War generals, he believed, had been a lot more brutal than the army could dare be later. When Union soldiers stepped on land mines, Sherman burned a fifteen-mile area; Grant ordered Sheridan to make the Shenandoah Valley "a barren waste"; he himself had harassed northern Alabama until thousands moved or died. Now Americans in the Philippines were suffering "untold cruelties, assassinations, burning by slow fires, burial alive, mutilation, and atrocities," but when they replied by waging effective war—which is cruel by definition—much of the country raised a howl. When Dodge expressed such thoughts in a letter to the New York *Post,* the paper repaid him by printing them under the headline, "A Defender of Torture."

Flawed himself, Dodge could argue that all the causes of this world are likely to be flawed, and that even cruelty and brutality might be necessary means to one's ends. The encounter with the *Post* brings us back to men's demand for the superlative; if Dodge could not share the *Post's* view that the war was undiluted evil, then he must be "A Defender of Torture."

IF I HAVE DEALT with Hirshson's *Dodge* at disproportionate length, it is because the book itself suggests such larger implications, while the two histories of the United States cavalry do not. The history of the cavalry might also suggest reflections on the mixing of good and bad in everything human; the career of the cavalry in the conquest of the West not only displays civilization propelled forward by cruelty and brutality, but raises doubts about who and what should be called civilized. But both James M. Merrill (*Spurs to Glory*) and Richard Wormser (*The Yellowlegs*) have limited themselves to telling the history of the cavalry as a succession of good stories—nothing more.

The prospective reader should be aware of their limited intentions. Neither book has much to say about the evolution of American cavalry organization. Both say surprisingly little even about cavalry tactics and about the response of American cavalry to changes in the technology and scope of war. Neither book develops the history of the cavalry in relation to the total history of the United States Army. On all these matters John K. Herr and Edward S. Wallace's *The Story of the U.S. Cavalry, 1775-1942* (1953) remains superior, although that short book does not pretend to be more than a beginning toward the full history of the cavalry that remains to be written.

In *Spurs to Glory* Merrill selects relatively few episodes in the history of the cavalry and develops them fairly well. They include the dreadful first march of the 1st Dragoons through the West, Stephen Watts Kearny's campaign to California, Benjamin Grierson's raid through Mississippi and Louisiana, the campaigns against Geronimo, and, inevitably, George Armstrong Custer's exploits in both the Civil War and the Indian wars. He pauses often enough over the everyday details of the horse soldier's life to give a certain depth to the battle scenes, making his warriors something more than the two-dimensional figures of Currier and Ives lithographs.

Those two-dimensional figures, on the other hand, are exactly the sort of thing Wormser offers in *The Yellowlegs.* He tries to cram into his book every cavalry battle of note from the American Revolution to Pershing's Punitive Expedition. Sabers fly or carbines bark on practically every page, and engagement follows engagement so rapidly that the reader never gets a chance to escape from the proverbial confusion of battle. The method Wormser uses to force all this disorder into enough of a pattern to make a book is to try to relate everything to the careers of seven men who he thinks did most to shape American cavalry, or who at least typify it—Light Horse Harry Lee, Stephen Kearny, Philip St. George Cooke, Jeb Stuart, Phil Sheridan, George Crook, and John J. Pershing (there is also an interlude devoted to the ubiquitous Custer). But of these leaders we see only the externals, hardly anything of their ideas or character.

Though Wormser points out that most of the history of the cavalry was encompassed in the lifetime of St. George Cooke, enough occurred during this interval to make dubious Wormser's effort to get everything into one volume. He has not escaped glaring omissions; John Buford, Benjamin Grierson, and Ranald Mackenzie barely put in an appearance. The clutter of the battlefield detail includes too much misinformation; Wormser has Tecumseh present at Tippecanoe, Baja California in northeastern Mexico, R. E. Lee a colonel at Churubusco (for his heroism there he was afterward brevetted *lieutenant*-colonel), Crook without a corps command in the Civil War, and so on. If you like Currier and Ives battle prints despite their clutter and two-dimensionality, you may also enjoy reading Wormser's *The Yellowlegs.* Merrill's *Spurs to Glory* is less breathless, more reliable—and less complete.

WITH RICHARD G. WOOD'S biography of Stephen Harriman Long we are reminded again of the demand for the superlative, but at a less portentious level than that to which Grenville Dodge led us. So much, in fact, is the demand for the superlative one of the conventions of biography that Wood feels obliged to describe Long as, if not the noblest Roman of them all, then at least an approximation. The most common image of Long is far less noble; the poor man has never lived down his part in fixing "the great American desert" upon his era's maps of the transMississippi West.

The truth again lies somewhere between the upper and lower estimates. The condition of transportation and agricultural technique in the 1820's afforded Long good excuse for regarding the area beyond the ninety-eighth meridian as a permanent barrier to settlement. Meanwhile, if Long erred there, he nevertheless enjoyed an admirable career with the army's topographical engineers and on loan to various state and regional engineering projects. He compares well with Dodge as a builder of railroads, especially the Baltimore and Ohio and Georgia's Western and Atlantic. Without taking much pleasure in the work, he labored diligently to improve navigation on the "western waters," the Mississippi and its tributaries. He was an occasional inventor and a major contributor to distinctively American aspects of the art of bridge building. He crowned his career during the Civil War as the last chief of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers.

Wood began working on Long's biography many years ago as a term paper project for Frederick Jackson Turner, and the work has a leisurely, dignified, and even antique quality, attractively enhanced by the Arthur H. Clark Company's style of book publishing, which gives us old-fashioned, ivory-laid paper with deckle edges and luxurious margins. Unfortunately, Wood had to work solely from Long's public papers, since there is no collection of private materials; few glimpses of Long's personality are therefore given. Those few suggest a somewhat querulous and complaining personality, shouldering heavy loads but never letting anybody forget it. They hardly bolster the "noblest Roman" approach, but the glimpses are so few that Wood is probably wise as well as old-fashioned to construct his biography as a dignified public monument.

FINALLY, among these books concerning the army in the West, there is the inevitable Custer. Fortunately, Donald Jackson's *Custer's Gold* is one of the rare books about that officer in which the Holmesian dictum is resisted. He appears on his 1874 expedition into the Black Hills as a reasonably competent explorer, marring his work with an overly complaisant endorsement of the tales of rich veins of gold in the hills, but otherwise businesslike and—despite grumbling in the ranks and a few touches of callousness—for once mindful of the lives and welfare of his troops.

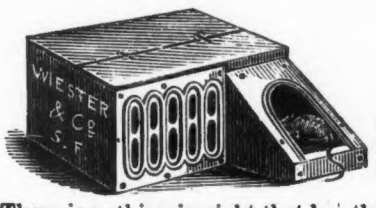
Of all these books *Custer's Gold* best captures the flavor of one part of the Old West. It combines scholarship as sound as any in the books at hand with the best writing of the group. If the reader demands superlatives no higher than those, and is content to relive an interesting episode in western history, with a colorful cast of characters playing against a fascinating geographical background—but with no overwhelming importance (the white man's rush to the Black Hills was almost certainly in the offing anyway)—then *Custer's Gold* can be recommended heartily.

Russell F. Weigley, a member of the history department at Temple University, is the author of Quartermaster General of the Union Army: A Biography of M. C. Meigs *and* Towards an American Army: Military Thought from Washington to Marshall.

THE ETHICAL TRAP

The westering pioneers managed to wipe out the Indian in something like forty years, but they never were able to annihilate the varmint population, insect or animal. They gave it a good try, though, as the advertisements indicate. These devious gadgets were offered to the pest-ridden West of the 1870's through the San Francisco mail-order house of Weister & Company, an emporium featuring other such up-to-date inventions for the harried western housewife as the Kettle Tipper and Stove Lid Lifter, the Fountain Griddle Greaser, and the Wide Awake Can Opener.

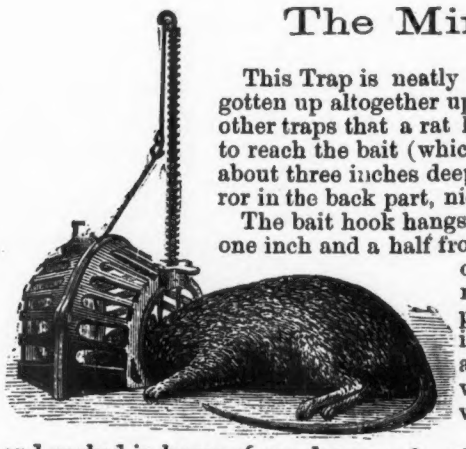
One peculiarly striking characteristic of Weister & Company's traps was their calculated trickiness. Today, of course, we simply poison the little beasts, but the more graceful nineteenth century evidently sought to do them in with some style—and perhaps the careful reader can detect in the descriptive text of the advertisements some hint of an almost aesopian moral in the whole business. After all, there had to be *something* ethically warped about a creature who could be taken in by the Mirror Rat Trap.



DELUSION MOUSE TRAP.

In California, we have a great many delusions to capture the unsophisticated, but there are probably none so complete as the one here represented, for deluding the innocent mice.

The door is wide open and the crib full of cheese. There is nothing in sight that has the appearance of a "put up job." The mouse walks up to the cheese, when the door quickly closes behind him. There is no escape but into the next room, and that is through a door that opens but one way. Here, he is in prison, and the front door open for the next customer.

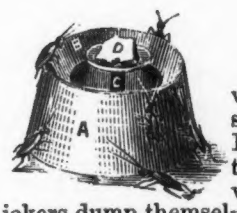


The Mirror Rat Trap.

This Trap is neatly and strongly made of iron, and is gotten up altogether upon a new principle, being unlike all other traps that a rat has to pass entirely into it in order to reach the bait (which he is not likely to do.) It is only about three inches deep from front to back, and has a Mirror in the back part, nicely and strongly bound with brass.

The bait hook hangs in front of the glass, and only about one inch and a half from the entrance, so that the rat has only to insert his head in order to reach the bait. When the rat approaches, he sees his own reflection in the Mirror, and believing it to be another rat, and fearing the other will secure the bait first, he rushes in without fear of danger and is caught.

All traps are wrapped with paper and packed in boxes of one dozen each, with Circulars and Directions.



ROACH TRAP.

Roaches are a troublesome pest, but we have found the way to clean them out. In the cut, A represents the outside of the trap, which is covered with emery, so that the Roaches can readily climb to the top of the trap and tumble in. D is a chunk of cheese, or other bait, that will attract them. B is an incline down which the little jokers dump themselves. When the trap is new, it is well to soil it on the outside with grease, or something else, to make it attractive. When once in they cannot get out. Set the trap where they usually congregate. When the trap is full, take off the lid and drop them into hot water.

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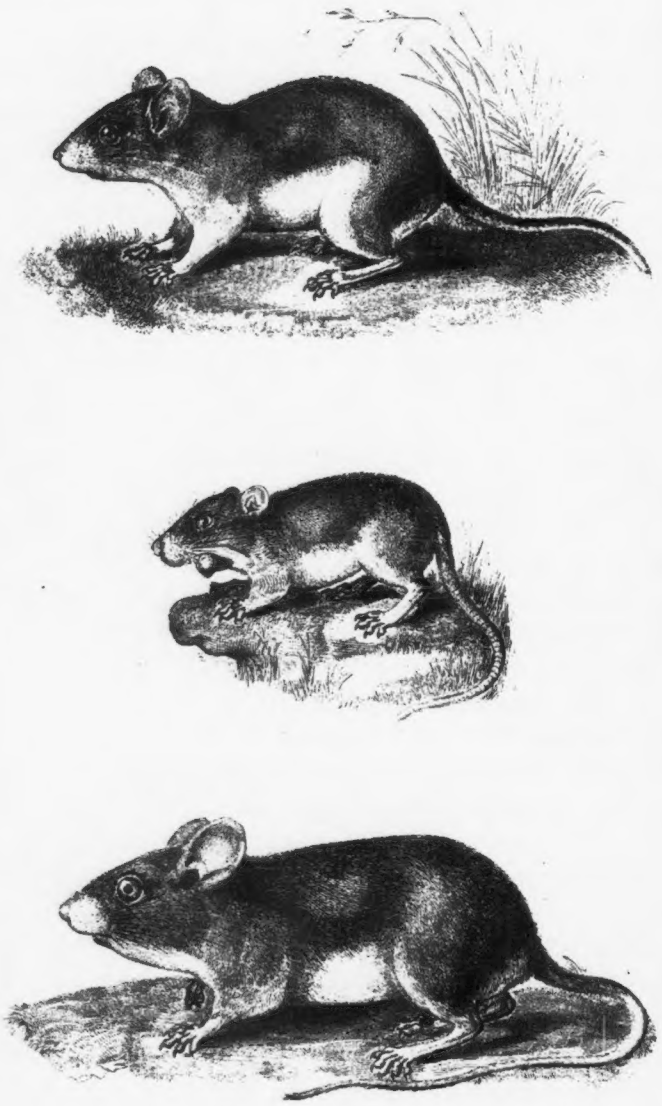
(Continued from page 3)

complete and accurate representation of the Yellowstone region then extant, but a work of art in itself—and indicative of the role science played in the latter half of the nineteenth century in fixing the image of the trans-Mississippi West in the American mind.

"The primary function of the artist who accompanied the explorers into the American West was reportorial," William H. Goetzmann says in his recent *Exploration and Empire* (Alfred A. Knopf, $10.00). "He was to record and document the new lands and the new people, and his medium was the most dramatic means of conveying to the public at large just what the country was like beyond the edge of the great frontier." Before 1860, these artists displayed a tendency to interpret the Great West according to the romantic conventions of their day, which resulted in some imaginative, but not always very accurate, renditions of the western landscape. By the 1870's, however, another artistic problem had presented itself: as sophistication in science increased, so too did the difficulty of describing for the edification of Congress and the public new scientific discoveries that could not adequately be described on the printed page. Artists, topographers, and cartographers adapted or invented various artistic devices to get around the problem, and while, as Professor Goetzmann points out, "these devices were of varying degrees of effectiveness and displayed at times a certain lack of skill," they nevertheless represented a major step in the development of scientific art—and one which had its not inconsiderable influence on the work of conventional artists. Maps, charts, graphs, intricately detailed drawings of fossils, plants, and animals, cross-sections, schematic cut-away drawings, landform maps—all these found their way into the wealth of government surveys and explorations in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

One of the compelling charms of *Exploration and Empire* is Professor Goetzmann's unusually perceptive and artistic eye for the pictorial element in his broad and interpretive study of the exploration of the West. Unlike many historians, who seem to look upon pictures as a necessary, but faintly irritating, adjunct to their narratives, Goetzmann has treated the pictorial element of his subject with a style that transcends the purposes of simple illustration and makes of the pictures an inseparable counterpoint to the text.

This is but one of the many attractions of what must stand as the most comprehensive study of American exploration yet accomplished: a genuine contribution to the story of the West and its effect on the whole of American culture. This value was recognized in March, 1967, when the Texas Institute of Letters awarded *Exploration and Empire* its annual prize for "the most significant contribution to knowledge"—and even more strikingly in May, when it was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for history, the first time a book on western history has been so honored since 1955.



Among the monumental surveys discussed in Exploration and Empire *are the* Reports *of the expeditions sent across the West in 1853-1855 to investigate practicable railroad routes from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific. Frequently criticized for their devotion to data somewhat irrelevant to the problems of railroad construction, these surveys marked the real beginning of systematic scientific exploration of the West. The* Reports *were magnificently illustrated. One of our favorite plates shows these representative inhabitants of the trans-Mississippi West: at the top is an ornery mouse from the west bank of the Pecos; at center, a furtive rodent of the Great Plains; at bottom, a sleek beastie from the banks of the American River, in the heart of California's gold country.*